Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-88-231
Thursday
1 December 1988

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-88-231 1 December 1988

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Schabowski Receives Economic Officials *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 22 Nov]* 1
Babameto Speaks at Belgrade Conference *[ATA]* 1
Albanians Attend Balkan Tourism Conference *[BTA]* 2
Balkan Trade Union Meeting Held in Sofia *[TRUD 24 Nov]* 2

ALBANIA

Alia Speaks in Sarande on Independence Day *[Tirana Radio]* 3
Comparison of Alia Cooperatives Congress Speech *[ZERI I POPULLIT]* 3
Trade Agreement With Egypt Signed *[ATA]* 3

BULGARIA

Zhivkov Receives DPRK's Kim Pok-sin 26 Nov *[Sofia Radio]* 4
Mladenov To Visit Italy in December *[BTA]* 4
Atanasov Meets Cuban Foreign Trade Minister *[Sofia Radio]* 4
Trade Agreement Signed *[Sofia Radio]* 4
Lukanov, Greece's Akritidhis Hold Talks *[BTA]* 4
CPCZ Delegation Visits, Signs Protocol *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 28 Nov]* 5
Sofia Rally Supports Palestinian People *[BTA]* 5
Declaration on Situation in Afghanistan Made *[BTA]* 5
Decision Reached on Illegal Construction *[BTA]* 6
Plan and Budget Bills Discussed at Meeting *[BTA]* 6
Dairy Produce Chairman Dismissed *[Sofia Radio]* 6

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Qian Qichen's Visit to USSR Noted *[CTK]* 7
Jakes Gives Views to Japanese Press *[RUDE PRAVO 26 Nov]* 7

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

FRG's 'Poaching' of GDR Citizens Condemned *[ADN]* 12
Sindermann Wants Baltic Parliamentarians To Meet *[East Berlin Radio]* 12
Sindermann Meets Acting Norwegian Prime Minister *[ADN]* 12
CSSR's Vasil Bilak Begins Official Visit 12
Meets With Hermann Axen *[Prague Radio]* 12
Received by Honecker *[ADN]* 13
Addresses SED Academy in Berlin *[RUDE PRAVO 25 Nov]* 14
CTK's Lenart, Honecker View Peace Initiatives *[CTK]* 14
PPR Democratic Party Delegation Visits *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 12-13 Nov]* 14
Bulgaria's Lukanov Visits for Scientific Talks 14
Holds Economic Talks With Soelle *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 15 Nov]* 14
Discusses Cooperation With Stoph *[ADN]* 15
Physicians Protest South Pacific Nuclear Tests *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 10 Nov]* 15
Refusal of 'Arafat Visa Called 'Arbitrary Act' *[W.M. in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 29 Nov]* 15
International Solidarity Day With Palestinians 15
Honecker Greets 'Arafat *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 29 Nov]* 15
Message to Perez de Cuellar *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 29 Nov]* 16
Officials Attend Reception *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 26-27 Nov]* 16
PLO Delegation Visits *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 29 Nov]* 16

Palestinian Trade Unionists Visit *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 28 Nov]* 17
TU Leader, Tisch Condemn U.S. *[East Berlin Radio]* 17
Sindermann Chairs People's Chamber Session *[ADN]* 17
Honecker Gives Politburo Report at SED Meeting *[ADN]* 17

HUNGARY

Berecz Speaks on Domestic, Political Issues 18
Economic-Political Situation *[Budapest Radio]* 18
New National Consensus Called For *[NEPSZABADSAG 19 Nov]* 19
Fejti Queried on Reforms, Changes to Constitution *[Budapest TV]* 22
New Economic Minister Nyers Interviewed *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 25 Nov]* 24
Kovacs Outlines Policy on Unemployment *[MTI]* 25
Spokesman Marosan Comments on Economy *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 16 Nov]* 26
Varkonyi Leaves Malaysia for Philippines *[MTI]* 27
Further Reportage *[cross-reference]* 28
Budapest, Manila To Open Diplomatic Missions *[Budapest Radio]* 28
Further Reportage *[cross-reference]* 28

POLAND

Miodowicz, Walesa Hold TV Debate 30 Nov 29
Debate Conditions Discussed *[Warsaw Radio]* 29
Live TV Debate Aired *[Warsaw TV]* 29
Debate Favorably Assessed *[Lewicki on Warsaw Radio]* 36
Cooperation With Opposition Viewed *[TRYBUNA LUDU 15 Nov]* 36
RFE Interviews Solidarity Brussels Officials *[PAP]* 38
CSSR Customs Procedures Criticized *[TRYBUNA LUDU 22 Nov]* 39
Foreign Minister's Statement After Pact Meeting *[TRYBUNA LUDU 2 Nov]* 39
Iraqi President Receives Kiszczak *[PAP]* 39
Reform Commission Views Foreign Currency Issues *[TRYBUNA LUDU 19-20 Nov]* 39

HUNGARY

RCP Plenary Meeting Winds Down, Concludes 41
Speeches, Debates Continue *[AGERPRES]* 41
New Secretary Elected *[AGERPRES]* 41
Ceausescu Delivers Closing Speech *[Bucharest Radio]* 41
Documents Adopted at Conclusion *[AGERPRES]* 46
Ceausescu Chairs, Addresses SDUF Plenary Meeting *[AGERPRES]* 46
GNA Session Opens; Ceausescu, Wife Present *[Bucharest Radio]* 46
Ceausescu Chairs PEC Meeting 23 Nov *[AGERPRES]* 47

YUGOSLAVIA

Relations With Australia Continue Tense 49
Closure of Consulate Threatened *[TANJUG]* 49
Australian Government Gives Ultimatum *[Melbourne Radio]* 49
Australia's Evans Comments *[Melbourne Radio]* 49
Reaction to Ultimatum *[TANJUG]* 49
Protest Over 'Attack' on Consulate *[TANJUG]* 50
Police Interview Man in Consulate *[Belgrade Radio]* 50
Ambassador Expresses Sympathy *[TANJUG]* 50
'Special Control Measures' in Force *[TANJUG]* 50
Leaker of Secret Plan To Be Tried *[AFP]* 51
Stanovnik Rejects Resignation Option *[TANJUG]* 51
Stanovnik Comments on Campaign Against Him *[TANJUG]* 51
Jasari Comments on Pristina Demonstrations *[BORBA 19-20 Nov]* 52
Vlasi Speaks on Albanian Gatherings in Kosovo *[RILINDJA 26 Nov]* 53
Korosec Comments on Recent Kosovo Events *[POLITIKA 26 Nov]* 54
Dolanc on Importance of Kosovo Situation *[TANJUG]* 55

Kosovo Press Comments on Albanian Greetings *[Jashari in RILINDJA 23 Nov]* 55
Kosovo Commission Okays Constitution Amendments *[TANJUG]* 56
Macedonians Protest Kosovo Pamphlet *[TANJUG]* 56
Tupurkovski Addresses Serbian LC Conference *[POLITIKA 22 Nov]* 56
Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Meets 17 Nov *[TANJUG]* 59
Vojvodina Presidency Endorses Draft Amendments *[TANJUG]* 60
Serbian SAWP Official on Constitution *[TANJUG]* 60
SAWPY Federal Conference Membership Cut *[Zagreb Radio]* 60
People's Defense Exercises Conclude 20 Nov *[TANJUG]* 61

Schabowski Receives Economic Officials

AU2311132488 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Nov 88 p 1

[Excerpt] East Berlin (ND)—A meeting of secretaries for economic policy of the party committees of socialist capitals opened in Berlin on Monday [21 November]. It is attended by delegations from the Budapest MSZMP Municipal Committee, the Hanoi City Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, the Havana Provincial Leadership of the Communist Party of Cuba, the Moscow CPSU City Committee, the Pyongyang City Committee of the Workers Party of Korea, the Sofia BCP City Committee, the Ulaanbaatar City Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the Warsaw PZPR Voivodship Committee, and from the Berlin SED Bezirk leadership.

During the meeting at the bezirk leadership, Guenter Schabowski, Politburo member, secretary of the SED Central Committee, and first secretary of the Berlin SED Bezirk leadership, conveyed greetings from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, to the representatives from the party committees of the capitals of the fraternal countries. He briefed the visitors on the work of the Berlin party organization to implement the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress and on the consistent realization of the course of the unity of economic and social policy. [passage omitted]

Babameto Speaks at Belgrade Conference

AU1711102688 Tirana ATA in English 0745 GMT 17 Nov 88

["The Albanian Government Has Supported and Will Support Every Step in Service of the Improvement of Transport in the Balkan Region—From the Speech of the Minister of Transport of the PSR of Albania, Luan Babameto, at the Meeting of the Ministers of Transport of the Balkan States"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, November 17 (ATA)—The meeting of the ministers of the Balkan countries opened in Belgrade on November 16. It was declared open by the chairman of the Federal Committee of Communication and Telecommunication of the SFR of Yugoslavia, Dr Dragi Danev. Then, the chairman of the Federal Executive Council of the Assembly of the SFR of Yugoslavia, Branko Mikulic, greeted. Prior to the beginning of the meeting, he received at a common meeting all the ministers.

At the first sitting of the meeting, the floor was taken by the minister of transport of the PSR of Albania, Luan Babameto, who said among the other things:

"We deem this meeting important, because it is the first time in the history of the Balkans that the ministers of transport gather together to exchange opinions on the possibilities and ways to futher develop the cooperation in the field of transport among the countries of our region.

Regarding the investments in the field of transport in the PSR of Albania, priority is attached to the construction of new railway lines and motor roads, the extension and strengthening of sea ports, etc. In order to realize these investments, we proceed in the first place from the aim to fulfil our needs at home as well as to facilitate the traffic with the foreign countries.

The Albanian Government, Comrade Luan Babameto said further on, has devoted special importance to international cooperation in the field of transports, consequently our relations in the field of transport with the Balkan countries have kept constantly expanding. It is our desire that these relations further develop.

It is understandable that the level of inter-Balkan cooperation in the field of transport and in other fields as well depends on some factors and in the first place on the development of friendly relations among the Balkan countries, the strengthening of confidence and mutual understanding between them. This cooperation depends to a considerable extent on the level of facilitating measures and the improvement of conditions for all kinds of transport in every state and throughout the region.

We will attentively examine the proposals made by the other countries and will make the necessary efforts to fulfil the possible demands that would be presented for the transport of goods from our sea ports through our railway network or combined transports, ensuring in this way other directions of goods transport from the sea ports of our peninsula.

In this context, he continued, we judge that there is room for greater exploitation of railway transport. Hence, it would be effective the growth of direct railway transport of export-import goods with our country, which constitute considerable quantities and that today are realized through other roads. [sentence as received] The realization of this objective would be of multilateral profit and a step welcomed regarding the Balkan cooperation.

For a more intensive use of railway network in the Balkans it would be of interest and profitable the bringing of transit railway tariffs to the level that stimulates the railway goods transport. We uphold that to this end would serve the conclusion of a special tariff link between the railways of the Balkan countries to establish favourizing unique tariffs.

The motor road transport, he said, is another important field of Balkan economic cooperation. We uphold that the creation of facilities for the lorries to move at any

time and the acceleration of acts to pass the border and customs, would exert a positive influence on the growth of the effectivity of this transport. In this context of special interest would also be the study to reduce various road taxes in our region.

As far as the other kinds of transport are concerned, there exist possibilities for a more effective cooperation between our countries. Sea transport too constitutes an important field of cooperation, particularly taking into consideration the fact that all our countries are coastal.

The Albanian Government, Comrade Luan Babameto said in conclusion, proceeding from the basic orientation of the policy of good neighbourliness, for the development of friendly relations with the other nearby countries, has supported and will support every step that will serve the improvement of transport in the region and extension and strengthening of cooperation among the Balkan countries in this field, considering it an important factor that contributes to the all-sided development of our region.

Albanians Attend Balkan Tourism Conference
AU2211182088 Sofia BTA in English
1654 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] Plovdiv, November 22 (BTA)—The 21st conference of the Balkan countries' official tourist organisations and the 16th conference of the Association of Tourist Agencies opened here today. The participants will consider the state of tourist contacts in the Balkans and the opportunities to diversify the packages on offer, as well as the organisation of joint initiatives to attract visitors from countries outside the region.

These meetings have been held since 1971 in keeping with bilateral agreements and with a multilateral agreement between the Governments of Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, Turkey and Yugoslavia. For the first time, representatives of Albania are attending the conference this year.

Balkan Trade Union Meeting Held in Sofia
AU2511212688 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian
24 Nov 88 p 3

[Nikolay Stefanov report: "Specific, Practical Ideals Discussed"]

[Text] How to construct the trade union floor of our common European house—this was the subject of a discussion held yesterday at the Sofia Boyana trade union headquarters, attended by leaders of working people's organizations from Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, Turkey, and Yugoslavia. The ideas presented in the memorandum on this working meeting were different and multifaceted. Various proposals were submitted, among them one proposing to establish a joint recreation home for working people from the Balkan countries, and several others on meetings and conferences of branch trade unions, on a common approach to peace and disarmament, on discussions concerning ecological problems, on trade-economic cooperation, on all-European integration processes, as well as proposals to hold workers sports events and Balkan amateur art festivals.... Whether trade unions should participate in and what their attitude should be toward future Balkan meetings at the state level was mapped out at the Belgrade meeting of foreign affairs ministers from Balkan countries held in February 1988.

The aforementioned Sofia working meeting was devoted to the task of discussing specific ideas of trade union cooperation in implementing the decisions adopted at the 1988 conference of trade union leaders from Balkan countries held in Belgrade. The dialogue will be further pursued in 1989 in the hope that the conference of trade union leaders from Balkan countries scheduled to take place in Sofia in 1989 will sum up the experience of joint efforts aimed at good-neighborly relations and the understanding of working people in our geographical area.

Alia Speaks in Sarande on Independence Day

AU2811195488 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Extract from speech by Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary, in Sarande on 28 November—recorded]

[Text] Dear comrades, it is some years since I last came to your district, but Sarande is one of those places to which, after every visit, you look forward to returning again, and where you find a reason for doing so. [applause]

It is not only outstanding for its beauty and its unmatched, incomparable landscape, but for its industrious people, determined fighters for the cause of socialism. [cheers, shouts of "Party, Enver, we are always ready."]

I therefore came very willingly to Sarande today, to celebrate 28 and 29 November together with you. Bringing you warmest greetings from the AWP Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and the Council of Ministers, I wish you with all my heart a happy flag festival and a happy liberation festival. [applause, shouts of "Party, Enver, we are always ready."]

This day, 28 November, is for our people the epilogue of a long and difficult road, strewn with patriotic heroism. Entire generations of Albanians, from ancient times down to the start of the present century, have fought for freedom and independence, for the flag, for the Albanian alphabet, their territory and indigenous traditions.

With such a patriotic awareness, instilled through the centuries, our people survived and emerged victorious from many wars and dangers. The aspiration for freedom and national independence, throughout the entire, glorious history of our homeland, has been and remains the main motive power encouraging struggle and unflinching resistance.

Our little Albania has been attacked by many invaders and by the claws of the states and great powers of many eras. However, foreign invaders, from wherever they have come, have not been able to keep hold of this land. [cheers]

They have been forced to pass through Albania as transients [words indistinct] on foot, while the Albanian people have remained lords of their own country, have always emerged victorious and have sacrificed everything for the cause of freedom. Today, on independence day, our minds turn to all those patriots and warriors who were distinguished for dedication to the national cause. We think of the Frasheri brothers, Ismail Qemaili and Hasan Prishtina, [name indistinct] and Pashko Vasa, Luigj Gurakuqi, Cajupi, and many other fighters of the rifle and the pen. The day of 29 November 1944 was not a simple repetition of the famous act accomplished by Albanian patriots with the flag of Vlore at their head in 1912.

Comparison of Alia Cooperatives Congress Speech

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian on 22 November carries on pages 1-2 the "Greeting of Comrade Ramiz Alia" delivered to the Sixth Agricultural Cooperatives Congress in Tirana on 21 November. The Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT report has been compared to the Tirana Domestic Service Albanian version published in the 23 November East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 1, allowing the following fills to be made:

Column two, sentence two reads in Tirana Domestic: ...found in the Leninist idea of cooperation, but in its... (supplying indistinct word and rephrasing)

Page 2, column one, last paragraph, sentences six and seven read: ...increased by about 3,700 leks. Now, per head of population, agriculture yields 700 leks more than... (providing alternative figures)

Same paragraph, sentence ten reads: ...raw materials every year, not including cereals. (replacing "day" with "year")

Page 4, column one, paragraph three, last sentence reads: ...developing society, and progress would be hampered. (supplying indistinct word)

Same page, column two, sentence four reads: ...cases of unjustified rounding off of figures upwards that are a... (supplying indistinct words)

Trade Agreement With Egypt Signed

AU2311112788 Tirana ATA in English 0915 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Text] Tirana, November 23 (ATA)—On November 20, 1988 there was signed in Cairo the agreement on the exchange of goods between the PSR of Albania and the Arab Republic of Egypt.

The agreement was signed for the Albanian side by the vice minister of foreign trade, Kostandin Hoxha and for the Egyptian side by the first vice minister of the Ministry of Economy and Foreign Trade, 'Adil Muhammad al-Jarhi.

Attending the signing ceremony were the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR of Albania in Egypt, Alkyz Cerga and the members of the two delegations.

According to the agreement, our country will export in Egypt tobacco, sauce, paper, cement, etc., and will import cotton, phosphate mineral, textiles, etc.

Upon his stay in Egypt, the vice minister of foreign trade, Kostandin Hoxha, was received in separate meetings by the minister of industry, Muhammad 'Abd al-Wahhab; by the minister of international cooperation, Dr Maurice Makramallah; and by the minister of economy and foreign trade, Yusri 'Ali Mustafa, with whom opinions were exchanged on the possibilities of intensifying the trade exchanges between the two countries.

Zhivkov Receives DPRK's Kim Pok-sin 26 Nov

AU2611193188 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 26 Nov 88

[Text] In Sofia today Comrade Todor Zhivkov received Kim Pok-sin, candidate member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea and vice premier of the DPRK.

Comrade Kim Pok-sin conveyed greetings from Comrade Kim Il-song and expressed thanks for the congratulations on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the formation of the republic.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov was informed about the program for the DPRK's development during the coming years. Kim Pok-sin spoke about the agreements reached in Bulgaria on developing production sharing in the field of the chemical and biochemical industries.

The guest was briefed on the in-depth restructuring of our society that was being carried out in connection with implementing the July Concept of the BCP Central Committee and, in particular, on the program for providing the domestic market with a rich variety of goods.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov conveyed greetings to Comrade Kim Il-song and his good wishes for new successes.

Mladenov To Visit Italy in December

AU3011135388 Sofia BTA in English 1330 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Text] Sofia, November 30 (BTA)—At the invitation of Mr Guilio Andreotti, minister of foreign affairs of Italy, Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, will pay an official visit to Italy in the first half of December 1988.

Atanasov Meets Cuban Foreign Trade Minister

AU2811192588 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Text] On 28 November Comrade Georgi Atanasov received Ricardo Cabrisas Ruiz, Cuban minister of foreign trade. Satisfaction with the development of bilateral economic cooperation was expressed. It was noted that this cooperation is constantly acquiring new forms. Specific issues related to the state and prospects of trade-economic relations were discussed.

Trade Agreement Signed

AU2811200688 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Text] On 28 November at the Lozenets residence, Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations, and Ricardo Cabrisas Ruiz, Cuba's minister of foreign trade, signed a protocol on trade exchange and payments for 1989. Our country will export electronics articles, hoisting, transportation, and metal-cutting machines, refrigerating and air-conditioning equipment, and articles of the pharmaceutical and light industries.

Cuba will export sugar beet, molasses, citrus fruits, electronic components, and consumer goods to Bulgaria.

Lukanov, Greece's Akritidhis Hold Talks

AU2511184888 Sofia BTA in English 1729 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Text] Sofia, November 25 (BTA)—The desire of Bulgaria and Greece to continue their efforts for the raising of the economic cooperation on a qualitatively new stage was confirmed during today's fruitful contacts of Mr Nikolaos Akritidhis, Greece's minister of commerce, who is on an official visit here at the invitation of Mr Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations of Bulgaria. At the official talks that were held today Mr Andrey Lukanov and Mr Nikolaos Akritidhis stressed the need of encouragement of the investments, the industrial and trade cooperation and the joint ventures to third markets. The two ministers assessed highly the Bulgaro-Greek economic cooperation. At the same time it was pointed out that the traditional forms of trade have exhausted their potential to a great extent and that is why the new forms of cooperation should be encouraged and they should become a priority trend in the structure of mutually advantageous economic relations. The two ministers reaffirmed their assessment for the importance of the forum which has started here with representatives of the business circles of the two countries, and for the other fruitful initiatives for direct contacts between economic figures and organizations from the two countries, as well as for cooperation in banking.

Mr Andrey Lukanov informed his Greek colleague of the economic reforms in Bulgaria which grant great possibilities for direct contacts with the international market. He noted that as a result of these reforms the gross national product is expected to grow by 5.5 percent this year. Bulgaria's desire for the creation of a more flexible and open economy can be seen in this country's candidacy for GATT membership.

The ministers expressed hope for sooner successful completion of the drafting of a document which would regulate the economic and techno-scientific cooperation between Bulgaria and Greece by the end of the century. They stressed the readiness of the two governments to encourage the business contacts with the agreements under preparation for protection of investments, avoidance of double taxation, encouraging of the trade along the borders. Concrete agreements on these issues are expected to be reached at the next session of the Joint Commission for Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation.

CPCZ Delegation Visits, Signs Protocol

AU2811142088 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 Nov 88 p 6

[Text] In accordance with the cooperation plan signed between the BCP and CPCZ Central Committees a delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism visited our country under the leadership of Prof Dr Vladimir Kunovjanek, director of this institute.

The delegation held talks with the leadership of the Contemporary Social Theories Institute and the BCP History Institute, and signed cooperation protocols with them.

The Czechoslovak guests were received by Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, who spoke on the new realities in the world and described restructuring in our country on the basis of the BCP July Concept.

The meeting was attended by David Elazar, director of the BCP History Institute and by Prof Dr Deyan Pavlov, deputy director of the Contemporary Social Theories Institute. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 23 November on page 7 mentions Aleksandur Lilov, director of the Bulgarian Contemporary Social Theories Institute, as having signed the protocol, while the Bulgarian report makes no reference to him. Lilov used to be a member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary, positions from which he was removed in September 1983]

Sofia Rally Supports Palestinian People

AU3011083588 Sofia BTA in English 2051 GMT 29 Nov 88

["Solidarity With the People of Palestine"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 29 November (BTA)—The International Day of Solidarity with the Arab People of Palestine was marked today with a ceremonial meeting.

We are once again raising our voice in protection of the legal right of the friendly Palestinian people for self-determination, and are expressing our hope and optimism that the attainment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East is today closer than it has ever been, said in his speech Dr Kiril Ignatov, chairman of the Society for Friendship with the Palestinian People and chairman of the CC of the Red Cross. A showing evidence of our solidarity with the just Palestinian cause is the fact that Bulgaria recognized the proclaimed independent Palestinian state. Bulgarian society is following closely the work of the 19th extraordinary session of the Palestinian National Council, which adopted decisions of historical importance for the fate of the Palestinian people. They are clear expressions of the political maturity of the PLO, of its sincere efforts to contribute to the triumph of peace and justness in the Middle East. In future, too, we will put our efforts to the convening of an international conference for settling of the Middle East conflict and its main problem: the Palestinian. This conference should take place under the auspices of the U.N. With the participation of the permanent members of the Security Council and all sides taking part in the conflict, including the PLO, sole lawful representative of the Palestinian peole.

Thanking the BCP, the Bulgarian Government and the whole of our people for the support of the just cause of the Palestinian people, Mr Isma'il Muhammad Abu Shamalah, the permanent representative of the PLO. In this country stressed that the proclamation of the Palestinian state is a beginning of a difficult period in the further struggle for ending of the occupation and attaining of self-determination and independence. The Palestinian people in the occupied territories and outside them who are seeing the first rays of the victory will not stop their struggle and will remain true to their pledge before the dead, he said on conclusions.

Declaration on Situation in Afghanistan Made

AU2911194788 Sofia BTA in English 1836 GMT 29 Nov 88

["BTA Declaration For Afghanistan"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 29 (BTA)—The situation in and around Afghanistan continues to be a cause for concern and worries. The break through in settling of the problems about that country in the spring of this year became an example of the application of the new political thinking to regional conflicts. The hopes which were raised were cherished by the outcoming positive moments: The signing of the Geneva agreements (April 14th), the successful ending of the first stage of the Soviet troops withdrawal (August 15th), the adoption by the UN General Assembly without discussion of a consensus resolution "On the Situation in Afghanistan and its Consequences for the International Peace and Security" (November 3d). Meanwhile the Government of Afghanistan frankly and persistently follows the line of national reconciliation.

Concurrently, however, Afghanistan continues still to be a bleeding wound. The Geneva agreements are being broken, there is an escalation of the military actions, the spirit of confrontation is always present among the different hostile political parties, groups, organizations and unions, bloodshed has not reduced. There is an urgent need of immediate practical efforts for appeasing the situation, for preserving the sovereignty, the territorial unity, the independence and non-commitance of Afghanistan.

It is therefore, only natural that the eyes would be once again turned to the UN the world organization is proving ever more convincingly in practice its universality and activity in international affairs, Afghanistan included. It

has an unquestionable contribution to the realization of the agreements between Afghanistan and Pakistan. A purposeful and effective work is done by the UN main coordinator on the economic and humanitarian programmes for help of Afghanistan, for which a large number of countries have confirmed their participation, Bulgaria included. Bulgaria decisively supports the idea of convening of an international conference on Afghanistan under the auspices of the UN. It would contribute to the continuation of the positive process, which started with the signing of the Geneva agreements from April 14th and would be in the spirit of the resolution of the UN General Assembly to encourage and make easier the early achievement of an all-embracing political regulation in Afghanistan. Bulgaria is ready to give its political and organizational contribution to the organizing and carrying out of such kind of an international conference.

Decision Reached on Illegal Construction

AU2911194388 Sofia BTA in English
1832 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Text] Sofia, November 29 (BTA)—Today's special session of the Council of Ministers considered the long-years of illegal construction of representative buildings, villas, rest homes, etc. with means which had been intended for other purposes and with severe infringement of the order of financing and construction. Projects have been built without observing the requirements of the law for the territorial and town systems and the regulation for its application. Some of the projects are in the sanitary-guarded zones of drinking water sources, in reserves, parks and other protected nature projects. Many of the buildings are only being used by a restricted circle of people.

A decree was adopted for the deprivation as of January 1st of the right of keeping and management of 143 buildings from the respective bodies and organizations: the Main Board of Roads, the Association "Forestry Economy and Forestry Industry" and the "National Agro-Industrial Union", etc. A special committee has been formed which is to decide the way of managing of those buildings and their giving mainly for children's establishments, for health care purposes, for the home and international tourism and for reposal of the working people.

The Committee for State and People's Control is assigned the task to seek personal responsibility of the guilty persons and to present the materials from the check of the Prosecutor's Office for seeking of punitive responsibility.

The Ministry of Economy and Planning is assigned by March 30th, 1989 to introduce in the Council of Ministers measures for economic enforcement and interest in the most rational use of the administrative rest homes, prophylactoria [as received] and other buildings.

Plan and Budget Bills Discussed at Meeting

AU2911194488 Sofia BTA in English
1842 GMT 29 Nov 88

["Good Base For Future Success"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 29 (BTA)—Bulgarian deputies assessed highly today the socio-economic achievements of this country during the past three years of the five-year period and stressed the opportunities for all-around advance during the next year.

The Foreign Policy Commission with the National Assembly chaired by Mr. Milko Balev discussed the bills for the state plan and budget for 1989 which will be discussed at a session of the parliament in the middle of December, this year. Satisfaction was expressed over the high rates of economic development—an average of 5.5 percent for the last three years, over the deepening structural changes in the economy, over the participation of this country in the international division of labour, in the CMEA integration processes.

Information on the work of the 80th Conference of the Interparliamentary Union held in Sofia was also delivered and a resolution in support of the resolutions of the conference was adopted.

Proposals in connection with the plan for the activity of the Commission for Foreign Policy for the next year were also discussed.

Dairy Produce Chairman Dismissed

AU3011192288 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1830 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Text] The Council of Ministers reviewed measures on improving the supply of foodstuffs and nonfoodstuffs. Dimitur Atanasov Andreevski, chairman of the "Dairy Produce" Association, was fired for grossly violating state and planning discipline and for diverting dairy products from the population's stocks for other purposes.

Qian Qichen's Visit to USSR Noted

LD0112095488 Prague CTK in English 0830 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Bratislava Dec 1 (CTK)—Slovak daily PRAVDA today described Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen's visit to the Soviet Union as "one of the events of the decade" which attracts worldwide attention as the first visit by a chief of Chinese diplomacy in more than 30 years.

"Some Western circles regard the Soviet-Chinese talks with displeasure, to put it mildly, as they are afraid of a rapprochement of Beijing and Moscow. It is because they hold obsolete view, thinking that relations with one side can be improved only to the detriment of another. The Soviet side emphasizes that this time it is in the interest of both sides as well as of all, particularly as regards the strengthening of security and peace in the Far East and the whole of Asia. Complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese ties will undoubtedly contribute to this and it is being pointed out also on the Chinese side with its well-known statement that China strives for the development of relations with all countries on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence", the Slovak paper said.

Jakes Gives Views to Japanese Press

AU2811153388 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Nov 88 pp 1,2

["M. Jakes Interview for Japanese papers YOMIURI SHIMBUN and ASAHI SHIMBUN"—introductory passage by RUDE PRAVO]

[Text] Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, granted an interview to two prominent Japanese newspapers—YOMIURI SHIMBUN and ASAHI SHIMBUN. In connection with the interview he received several Japanese journalists on the premises of the party's Central Committee in Prague on 22 November. The reception was attended by Shigeo Motoike, main editor of YOMIURI SHIMBUN for Europe; by Tetsuo Omaizumi, head of the YOMIURI SHIMBUN office in Warsaw; and by Iuji Oaku, ASAHI SHIMBUN reporter for Eastern Europe.

ASAHI SHIMBUN: Mr General Secretary, please tell us about the purpose of the cadre changes recently carried out within the party and the government.

[Jakes] The purpose of these cadre changes is to qualitatively improve the work carried out by our party and state agencies, and to bring it in line with the new demands. We want to accelerate our socioeconomic development so as to improve the people's living standards and our country's prosperity. The path toward this is one of economic and social restructuring, which must be based on an intensified socialist democracy. This naturally cannot be achieved without cadre changes, which must also include measures for rejuvenating management structures. This, I think, is quite natural. In view of their age, some comrades have retired and others have been entrusted with certain responsible tasks. We have temporarily increased the number of CPCZ Central Committee Presidium members, so as to rejuvenate the Presidium and to provide conditions for the continuity of its work. We will continue devoting systematic attention to issues connected with the cadre policy, and we have adopted a number of important measures (for instance, for limiting the period of holding one and the same executive office to a maximum of 10 years, or for eliminating accumulations of functions).

ASAHI SHIMBUN: What are your views on the functional separation of the work accomplished by the party, the government, and the parliament?

[Jakes] We stress that the Communist Party must fulfill its main mission, which is to be the political leader of our society, and it should not take upon itself the responsibilities of state, economic, and social agencies and organizations (naturally this also applies to the government and the parliament). Within the framework of their authority, these agencies and institutions, as well as the appropriate executives, carry specific responsibilities in the accomplishment of various tasks. The party's role is to win the people's support for the restructuring and democratization process and to make them vigorously participate in its realization; but it should also use its influence in making sure that the executive posts are filled with politically and morally mature people who have appropriate professional prerequisites and experience for this, regardless of their political affiliation.

YOMIURI SHIMBUN: Mr General Secretary, you often stress that changes are inevitable. However, as we understand it, the situation in your country differs from (let us say) the situation in Poland, Hungary, or the Soviet Union. How do you assess the current state of the Czechoslovak economy, what kind of reforms are you planning?

[Jakes] The problem of the Czechoslovak economy is that—due to certain objective, but especially to subjective, reasons—it has failed to produce extensive development, with its constantly increasing consumption of all kinds of resources, in favor of the far more economical intensive economy, characterized by high labor productivity based on the knowledge acquired in scientific-technical development. This has made our economic growth less dynamic, and in certain respects has led to stagnation. Another problem which is closely linked with intensification is the historically developed structure of the Czechoslovak economy, with a large share of branches requiring a high consumption of raw and other materials, of fuel and energy resources.

In analyzing the situation at the 17th CPCZ Congress in 1988, but also at other CPCZ Central Committee sessions, we came to the conclusion that the shortcomings

in our socioeconomic development are mainly due to our managing the economy by means of administrative commands—a method that has exhausted its possibilities and become a retarding element. That is why we have decided to restructure our economic mechanism similarly to the Soviet Union and a number of other socialist countries. This is a most complicated process, and it is linked with a number of difficulties which have to be resolve as we go. It is essential to improve planned management, to get rid of excessive centralization, and to make extensive use of economic management tools (such as market-price relations, the law of values, or the laws governing the socialist market). The laws which we have already passed provide the enterprises with an extensive independence, but also with responsibility for their business activities; they also expand socialist self-management via setting up councils of working collectives which decide on the basic issues connected with the activities of enterprises and working people, with the elections of directors, and so forth.

YOMIURI SHIMBUN: It is stressed both in the Soviet Union, and in Hungary and Poland, that economic reforms have to be introduced side by side with political reforms. Could you indicate to us the direction which the political reforms will take in Czechoslovakia?

[Jakes] The process of economic and social restructuring embarked upon in our country is comprehensive—it affects our economy, but also our spiritual life, our culture, ideology, education, and naturally the sphere of policy. It is based on the intensification of socialist democracy, on the development of the people's initiative, and on their participation in management and administration. We regard the implementation of open policy, the flow of information to the general public, and control as the most important prerequisites here.

Our political system is founded on the National Front, which rallies five political parties (headed by the CPCZ) and a number of social organizations, such as the trade unions, youth organizations, the Scientific-Technical Society, and many special interest organizations. Two new organizations have been recently admitted to the National Front—the unions of nature protectors from the Czech and Slovak SRs. Our main concern is to make the best use of the vast opportunities offered by our National Front for the people's participation in policy creation, realization, and control, and to fully develop its main mission - i.e. to establish a broad platform for exchanging views and uniting all citizens for a further development of socialism in our country. The measures for enhancing the independence and responsibility of national committees as the agencies of the people's power in cities, communities, districts, and regions in our country are also aimed at expanding the people's participation in the management and administration of public affairs. But restructuring also affects the Communist Party itself. We aim to develop intraparty democracy and collective decision-making and to qualitatively improve the contents, forms, and methods of work, so as to intensify the party's ties with the people. In order to improve the selection of citizens' representatives in legislative agencies and in the bodies of representatives, we are preparing a change of the election system, which provides (inter alia) for elections from among several candidates. All the changes brought by economic and social restructuring will be reflected in the new CSSR Constitution; the draft of it is being drawn up by a commission of 152 people, consisting of representatives of workers, farmers, scientists, and the intelligentsia, as well as of politicians, economic figures, people active in the sphere of culture and arts, sportsmen, representatives of special interest and social organizations, and clergymen. Like many other important laws and decisions, the draft of the new Constitution will be assessed in a public discussion.

ASAHI SHIMBUN: It is said that there is a strong resistance to the changes. How do you see this?

[Jakes] I would not speak of a strong resistance—rather to the contrary. However, we also naturally have people who are not exactly delighted by restructuring—people who have led a good life up to now, which was at variance with the results of their work; people whom it suited not to have to show any initiative or undertake risks; or else individuals whom the administrative-bureaucratic management thoroughly suited, who had become accustomed to adopting various decisions (which often complicated the work of others), while being practically free of any responsibility for them. And now these people fear (and not without justification) that the restructuring process represents a danger to their personal comfort and their way of life to date.

It must be said that egalitarianism in remuneration (when rewards for outstanding results do not differ greatly from rewards for average or below-average results) has contributed considerably toward a certain passivity, a trend toward the average. And egalitarianism is greatly hampering us to this very day. It is firmly rooted in the people's mentality, and one of the aims of restructuring is to radically change this situation, to establish social justice and to make the living standards of every person directly correspond to his or her working results and social contribution. The absolute majority of our citizens support restructuring, and are prepared to energetically contribute to its realization.

ASAHI SHIMBUN: Is it possible that enterprises operating at a loss could be closed down within the framework of the drive for greater economic efficiency?

[Jakes] Of course this, too, can occur—but it is an extreme measure. There are other ways of changing the situation, for instance through a fusion with another, prospering enterprise, etc. However, should the closure really become necessary (for instance because of some inevitable structural changes in our economy), the employees need not fear that they will become unemployed—on no account will their existence be imperiled.

The state assumes the responsibility for getting them jobs. This of course does not mean that they will have the same kind of work as before; but their retraining, the acquisition of new skills, will be provided for. We have adequate possibilities for utilizing the people's skills and knowledge. For instance, the development of services will place increased demands on manpower. In the developed states, 60 percent of the citizens usually work in the tertiary sphere, and 40 percent directly in production. Up to now this has been the other way round in our country.

YOMIURI SHIMBUN, ASAHI SHIMBUN: We would be interested in hearing your views on certain foreign-political issues, Mr General Secretary. What is Czechoslovakia's stand in negotiations on arms reduction and the reduction of armed forces in connection with the Vienna follow-up meeting?

[Jakes] We regard the conclusion of the Vienna follow-up meeting as an important condition for opening negotiations on a reduction of the levels of conventional armaments and strengths of armed forces in Europe. That is why we are extremely interested in a speedy elaboration of the final document. The sociopolitical systems in East and West Europe differ, but this should present no obstacle in developing a constructive dialogue and all-round cooperation for the sake of consolidating peace and security in the world. Together with the other socialist countries and progressive forces throughout the world, we are therefore energetically contributing to the Soviet Union's efforts to push through the new political thinking and the limitation and elimination of nuclear arms, and to achieve progress in the issues of arms control and disarmament. We are vitally interested in this. We also proceed from the dearly paid-for experience acquired when our country was the victim of Hitlerite aggression.

YOMIURI SHIMBUN: A significant development has taken place between the East and the West—not only in disarmament issues, but also in other important spheres, such as the economy and culture. This development can undoubtedly be attributed to the new thinking of Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary. How do you think that Czechoslovakia could contribute to these trends?

ASAHI SHIMBUN: French President Mitterand is to visit the CSSR in the near future. What will be the concept of the CSSR's further relations with West Europe?

[Jakes] We will gladly welcome M. Mitterand in Czechoslovakia. We attach considerable significance to our talks with him. We will discuss issues of reducing tension and intensifying trust in international relations, and also other aspects of the world situation. Likewise, negotiations on the development of economic, scientific-technical, cultural, and other cooperation between the CSSR and France will occupy an important place in our talks. We are interested in good relations with developed capitalist countries and are trying to expand them further. As you know, it is not that long ago that Mr Kohl paid a visit to our country. The talks conducted with him were fruitful and will, without doubt, contribute to strengthening relations between the CSSR and the FRG. We have also made progress in our relations with the Republic of Austria, the chancellor of which, Mr Vranitzky, also paid a visit to Czechoslovakia some time ago.

Our concept of relations with West European countries and other states proceeds from the new thinking in international politics. We assess the situation in the world realistically. We respect the fact that in the FRG or in France they have a capitalist system, and we expect that our socialist reality will be equally respected. We proceed from the fact that the contemporary world—no matter how manyfaceted it is, no matter that there are two different social systems in it—has many problems and interests in common. We live on the same planet and we should have one main objective: to live in peace, understanding, and cooperation, and not to stress what divides us, but rather those issues that unite us.

A concrete contribution in this respect is the Czechoslovak proposal to gradually create zones of trust, cooperation, and good neighborly relations along the line of contact between the two political groupings—the Warsaw Pact and NATO. Our aim is, among other things, the establishment of a diluted military presence on the military borderline between the two blocks. Next to military and political issues, our initiative also includes other aspects of international security—economic, ecological, cultural, and humanitarian aspects. We are very interested in a mutually advantageous international economic and scientific-technical collaboration. Therefore, we proposed at the Vienna follow-up meeting to hold an economic forum in Prague, which would provide a new impetus for international cooperation in the spheres of trade, industry, technology, and finance.

YOMIURI SHIMBUN, ASAHI SHIMBUN: The measures that were taken against public gatherings of and demonstrations by opposition groups were subject to international criticism. Mr General Secretary, how would you answer to this criticism?

[Jakes] To tell you the truth, it is not clear to me what we are being reproached for. Groups of people who are trying to misuse the process of restructuring and democratization, to be some sort of opposition, are not numerically strong, and their influence is practically negligible. We proceed against this activity in accordance with our laws, which also happens in the case of unauthorized gatherings. In some cases the people involved are political failures who have lost the trust of the public, and who pursue purely personal interests. The chief activists of these groups are at variance with the conclusions of the Helsinki conference, and are steered, supported, and often directly paid by the West. And it is precisely the

support of the Western media and some political circles which are vitally important for their activity; their actions are organized from abroad via radio broadcasts.

These people realize that they are valuable only as long as they criticize our social system. This attitude is their program. They sense their chance in provoking unrest, in the political destabilization of society. They are not interested in our country's prosperity and are trying to retard it. Thus they are objectively acting against the interests of our people. Therefore, the overwhelming majority of the public dissociates itself from their activity and unequivocally condemns it. Of course, there also exist citizens, very often young people, who simply let themselves be frequently seduced in the quest for entertainment and adventure. At the same time, it is interesting that, for example, they chant the name Dubcek, but when asked who is he, they do not know.

Regarding religious issues, believers in our country have all the prerequisites for satisfying their religious needs. They have the same rights as all other citizens, they take an active part in the country's construction. This also applies to the majority of clergymen and church dignitaries. We do not obstruct their activity in any way. They are—by the way—paid by the state. The only condition is that they respect the social and political reality in our country. We also approach the question of negotiations with the Vatican regarding filling bishops' vacant seats in a number of dioceses from these positions.

I would like to stress once again that in our country everyone has the opportunity to participate in the country's socialist upsurge. We welcome and support such initiative; in this respect everyone has a chance.

YOMIURI SHIMBUN: When studying the reforms in your country, one cannot but recall the past experience—the so-called Prague Spring 20 years ago. What lesson would you draw from the Prague Spring today?

[Jakes] In 1968 there came into being in our country an opportunity to resolve problems which had accumulated, to carry out important economic and social reforms in the interest of strengthening and perfecting socialism. They were the expression of the hopes of the people of our country and had their full support. But in that complex political situation the party leadership—owing to its lack of unity—failed. It lost the control over developments and was not able to counteract the activation of the destructive rightist and antisocialist forces, which were extensively supported from the West, and which even infiltrated leading posts in the Communist Party and the state. It has taken a great deal of time and effort to consolidate the party and society and to restore the values of socialism in our country. From the 1968 events, we have learned that the party, as the vanguard force of socialist society, must be politically up to its tasks, that it must—by its activity—systematically win and strengthen people's trust, keep on uniting them for creative work which brings satisfaction, which is oriented toward the country's development.

ASAHI SHIMBUN: In Hungary there are voices calling for the withdrawal of Soviet troops. What will be the situation in Czechoslovakia?

[Jakes] The Soviet troops are not in Czechoslovakia to answer internal needs. Their presence is connected with general East-West relations; it is a question of military equilibrium between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. I have already said that we are extraordinarily interested in the continuation of the process of disarmament and strengthening international security and trust. We very much welcomed it when nuclear missiles could be removed from our territory as the consequence of the agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States, and we are also interested in concrete steps aiming at reducing conventional armament and armed forces in Europe. Our opinion is that, within the framework of this process, by maintaining military equilibrium on a far lower level, it is also possible to solve the issue of the presence of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia.

YOMIURI SHIMBUN, ASAHI SHIMBUN: Mr General Secretary, what is your opinion regarding the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations?

[Jakes] The majority of the socialist countries have normalized their relations with the PRC, including relations along the party line. Our opinion is that this will also happen in the case of Soviet-Chinese relations.

During my recent visit to the PRC, in talks with its ranking party and state representatives, I acquired the impression that the Chinese side, too, wishes to develop relations with the Soviet Union. The normalization of the situation in Cambodia and the continuing withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops create conditions for achieving an agreement, too. My opinion is that the process of the expansion of relations between the USSR and the PRC along state and party lines is on a good course. Comrade Gorbachev's visit to China was, without doubt, a very important contribution in that respect.

YOMIURI SHIMBUN, ASAHI SHIMBUN: Hungary is striving to establish diplomatic relations with South Korea. What will the situation be in case of Czechoslovakia?

[Jakes] The issue of our relations with South Korea depends on the development of the situation on the Korean peninsula, which should correspond to the realities of the times. We fully support the stance of the DPRK in these issues. However, we are not against mutually advantageous trading contacts with South Korean partners.

ASAHI SHIMBUN: How would you comment the results of the U.S. presidential elections?

[Jakes] The election of their country's highest representative is the affair of American citizens. Mr Bush's assumption of office changes nothing in our willingness and readiness to develop equal relations with the United States—provided there is mutual respect and understanding for the partner's needs. In any case, however, we noted with satisfaction that the U.S. election campaign was not accompanied by evidence of anti-Sovietism. It is obvious that the further favorable development of the Soviet-American dialogue would have a positive influence on the continuation of the process of improving the overall situation in the world. We expect that Mr Bush will strive for that.

YOMIURI SHIMBUN, ASAHI SHIMBUN: What is your opinion about relations with Japan?

[Jakes] We would like to see Czechoslovak-Japanese relations develop. In Czechoslovakia we know Japan as a country of rapid economic and scientific-technical upsurge, having state-of-the art industry and technology in a number branches, as a country with well-organized labor, a high cultural standard, and diligent, talented, friendly, and hospitable people. I think that learning to know such a developed country is a useful thing for everyone. We rejoice over the success that is being achieved in your country, for example, by our music. We are aware of the interest of Japanese tourists in Czechoslovakia's historical monuments. We are of the opinion that the Czechoslovak-Japanese cooperation could be much more extensive. In our country, for example, we have very good conditions for the application of your modern technologies, electronics, and automation. We, too, have something to offer to Japan—not only in culture, but also in science and technology, and in economic cooperation, including joint ventures. I say openly: We must be more flexible in this respect, we must show more initiative.

YOMIURI SHIMBUN, ASAHI SHIMBUN: Mr General Secretary, thank you for taking so much time for us.

[Jakes] I, too, thank you for the attention which you are giving to our country. Journalists can do much for cooperation among nations, for mutual understanding, and for helping us to learn to know one another.

I would like to take this opportunity to wish the Japanese people a happy life in peace. I wish your readers much happiness.

FRG's 'Poaching' of GDR Citizens Condemned

LD2911194688 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1745 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Recently, the certainly first-class Windsbach Boys Choir has been able to count three 17-year-old schoolboys from the GDR among its number. The three boys are singers from the Dresden Church of the Holy Cross Choir and at the same time students at the School of the Holy Cross, who turned up in Windsbach in a very mysterious manner. Despite Western protestations to the contrary, the disappearance of the three schoolboys during a tour of Japan was deliberate poaching. How else can the unreserved and presumptious provision of the young people from the GDR with FRG identity documents by the FRG Embassy in Tokyo and their hastily organized transportation to the FRG through the involvement of other Federal German bodies be assessed? The circumstance that the three schoolchildren were abroad, far from their parents, was exploited by the FRG's responsible bodies.

The FRG's ambassador to Japan cited his supposed duty to look after all Germans, in which the age of those concerned in such practices which violate the GDR's sovereignty played no role. One must ask those responsible for such incidents how far along they are with human rights, with which they only too often justify themselves, if even schoolchildren are to be torn away from the responsibility of their parental home, school, and choir. [passage omitted]

If dishonest schemes for poaching GDR citizens do not stop short of schoolchildren, then this represents a serious strain on relations between the GDR and the FRG. Those who believe that they have to constantly lament faults of the GDR on issues of bringing families together, tear families apart without regard to the right to bring up and the duty to care. Such practices, which contravene international law, lie in crass contradiction of the GDR's constant practice of immediately returning those not of age and schoolchildren who turn up in the GDR to the FRG. Those responsible at the Windsbach Boys Choir and the FRG's responsible bodies should also be aware of the fact that such deliberate, state-sanctioned poaching does not promote the agreed-upon cultural exchange between the two German states.

Sindermann Wants Baltic Parliamentarians To Meet

LD1511134588 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 2100 GMT 14 Nov 88

[Excerpt] People's Chamber President Horst Sindermann speaking in Oslo today, proposed a meeting of parliamentarians from the Baltic states. It should take place next year, and its guiding thought should be to make the Baltic a zone of peace for ever.

At a reception given by Norwegian Storting President Jo Benkow, Sindermann underlined his full agreement on the most important issue: Humanity's only chance of survival lies in banishing war for ever. [passage omitted]

Sindermann Meets Acting Norwegian Prime Minister

LD1611105888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1518 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] Oslo (ADN)—Horst Sindermann, president of the GDR People's Chamber and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, today in Oslo had a friendly talk with Johan Jorgen Holst, acting Norwegian prime minister and defense minister. The minister received the head of the People's Chamber delegation in place of prime minister Gro Harlem Brundtland, who is ill. The minister described parliamentary contacts as a valuable supplement to negotiations by governments and miliary representatives. Today it is above all a matter of establishing military balance between East and West at the lowest possible level and of further reducing the arsenals of nuclear weapons following the INF Treaty.

The acting prime minister is of the opinion that nuclear weapons can indeed serve as a deterrent, but in no way make a war winnable. He called the SED-SPD initiative for a nuclear weapons-free corridor in central Europe, with which he is well acquainted, a good example of the possibility for small and medium-size countries to also set disarmament in motion regionally.

Horst Sindermann stressed that all of the Warsaw Pact states' disarmament proposals are aimed, in the final analysis, at moving from confrontation to cooperation. It is important to eliminate existing imbalances in the military potentials of the two alliance systems through arms reduction and not through a build-up. A dialogue on these problems between GDR and Norwegian defense ministers is quite conceivable. The elimination of all nuclear weapons by the year 2000 is no illusion today, but rather a vision worth striving for for peace-loving mankind.

Horst Sindermann gave Johan Jorgen Holst a personal message from Erich Honecker to Gro Harlem Brundtland. The message pays tribute to the continually developing relations that serve the interests of the GDR and Norway.

CSSR's Vasil Bilak Begins Official Visit

Meets With Hermann Axen

LD2411030088 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Text] Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, today began his visit to the GDR. Our correspondent Slavomir Malickaj reports:

[Malickaj, speaking in Slovak] Comrade Bilak was received today by Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee.

During the talks he informed the Czechoslovak guest about the fulfillment of economic and social tasks set by the 11th SED Congress. Comrade Bilak spoke about the goals of the current restructuring of the economic mechanism in our country, particularly stressing the conclusions of the recent 10th session of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Both representatives also discussed current international questions. They agreed that the present positive tendencies on the international scene must be strengthened. In this connection, they emphasized the importance of the coordinated approach by Warsaw Pact member countries in implementing peace proposals in the areas of nuclear and conventional disarmament. Comrades Axen and Bilak at the same time emphasized the relevance of the joint initiatives of Czechoslovakia and GDR, particularly proposals to create a nuclear-free zone in central Europe and a chemical-weapons-free corridor. Comrade Bilak spoke about the broad positive reaction to our proposal, which was offered by Comrade Jakes, to create a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations on the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and the NATO states. At the same time, he emphasized the comprehensive nature of this initiative.

The visit by Comrade Bilak to the GDR will continue tomorrow.

Received by Honecker

LD2511035088 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1255 GMT 24 Nov 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the SED and chairman of the GDR State Council, today received Vasil Bilak, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, for friendly talks.

Vasil Bilak conveyed fraternal greetings from CPCZ General Secretary Milos Jakes and CSSR President Gustav Husak. These were very cordially reciprocated by Erich Honecker.

The parties briefed each other on social developments in their countries, exchanged opinions on the international situation, and discussed questions concerning further cooperation between the two parties and states.

Erich Honecker explained that the evolution of the developed socialist society in the GDR is inseparably linked with the mobilizing force of a unified economic and social policy. The knowledge acquired in mastering key technologies is being purposefully used to continue to intensify the national economy.

The party elections within the SED are developing into a broad exchange on experiences in political leadership, on the increasing demands on the political-moral attitude of party members, and on trusting cooperation with all working people. Such an approach has led to an increase in the party's strength. In this, the consciousness of what had been achieved and certainty about the future form firm starting points for tackling new tasks in preparation for the GDR's 40th anniversary.

Vasil Bilak gave a briefing on the CPCZ's policies for the general strengthening of socialism in the CSSR. Historical experiences had led the CPCZ to put itself at the head of the emerging development processes in the CSSR's socialist society. In this, the CPCZ started from a successful balance sheet. Now preconditions are being created in the daily struggle for high achievements in production and the realization of programs of far-reaching reform to increase socialism's attractiveness for people in the CSSR. The CPCZ is thus actively preparing for its 18th party congress.

Both parties spoke in favor of extending cooperation between the SED and the CPCZ, the GDR and the CSSR, as well as the broad contacts of friendship between peoples in both countries. The work on fulfilling the agreements reached between Erich Honecker and Milos Jakes on 10 March 1988 will be continued in this spirit. The similarity of the current tasks in both countries makes possible a specific and effective exchange of experiences and information, as actual practice has shown.

Erich Honecker and Vasil Bilak affirmed the concurring attitudes of both parties and states toward basic questions in international politics. The SED and CPCZ support all forces of peace in their efforts to avoid the danger of war and to maintain international security, build trust, and increase international cooperation. On the dividing line between the Warsaw Pact and the NATO states, they will use every opportunity and all their strength to give the progress visible in the international arena a lasting and irreversible character. The indispensible prerequisites for further results on the path to comprehensive improvement in the international situation is the recognition that there is no rational alternative to the disarmament process established by the intermediate-range missile agreement and the observance of sovereignty, territorial integrity, and noninterference in the domestic affairs of other states. Erich Honecker and Vasil Bilak emphatically stressed that the GDR and the CSSR will continue at the side of the USSR and other fraternal states to make their active contribution to implementing socialist peace policies.

Taking part on the SED side in the talks were Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, and Ralph Hartmann, section head of the International Relations Department of the Central Committee; and on the CPCZ side, Marek Venuta, deputy head of the International Politics Department [as heard] of the Central Committee. Also present was Frantisek Langer, CSSR ambassador to the GDR.

The Czechoslovak guest ends his visit to the GDR today.

Addresses SED Academy in Berlin

AU2811145988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Nov 88 p 1

[Vladimir Plesnik Berlin dispatch: "To Enhance Understanding"]

[Excerpts] Berlin—On Thursday [24 November] Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, ended his 2-day visit to the GDR, which took place at the invitation of the SED Central Committee. [passage omitted]

At the close of his stay in the GDR, V. Bilak visited the SED Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences to discuss with its staff aspects of the CPCZ's current domestic and foreign policy. He said inter alia, that the party policy cannot be implemented without the people understanding the new conditions in which this is taking place.

"Much is being said and, above all, written about restructuring and the new thinking nowadays. However, our words have advanced further than our deeds, most likely because it is easier to speak. It is often forgotten that it is not a question of slogans but that this is a long-term program, a revolutionary process that has been taking its course, with greater or lesser dynamism, since the 1st day of the Great October Socialist Revolution," V. Bilak said.

The CSSR, just like the GDR, has a unique opportunity to prove what socialism is capable of. It is necessary to beware of simplification by separating people according to whether they are, or are not, in favor of restructuring. We not only need as many advocates and fans of restructuring as possible, we need, above all, fighters for its implementation, V. Bilak said further.

CTK's Lenart, Honecker View Peace Initiatives

LD0211214388 Prague CTK in English 1850 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Text] Berlin Nov 2 (CTK correspondent)—Presidium Member and Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Jozef Lenart, currently on a working visit to the German Democratic Republic, was received here today by General Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and State Council Chairman Erich Honecker.

The two officials exchanged views on questions concerning socialist construction in their countries, the possibilities of extending cooperation between the two countries and the most important international topics.

They highly appreciated the high level of bilateral relations and stressed that the further extension of cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the GDR is of growing importance for succesful construction of socialism in the two countries.

When discussing international issues, Erich Honecker and Jozef Lenart pointed out the joint Czechoslovak-GDR peace and disarmament initiatives aimed at strengthening confidence, security and cooperation in central Europe. They stressed that both countries will further strive to actively contribute to the peace policy of the Warsaw Treaty member states.

PPR Democratic Party Delegation Visits

AU1411175088 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12-13 Nov 88 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Friday [11 November], Manfred Gerlach, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, received a Central Committee delegation of the PPR's Democratic Party [DP], headed by Edward Zglobicki, member of the Presidium and secretary of the DP Central Committee, for talks in Berlin. Gerlach briefed his guest on the work and the achievements of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany in helping to shape the developed socialist society, and, with a view to the GDR's 40th anniversary and the local elections, stressed the continuity and quality of the policy of alliance as a feature of the GDR's political system. Edward Zglobicki outlined the current developments in Poland and explained the DP's work.

The two sides praised the recent declaration by the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact countries as further proof of the persistent efforts of the socialist peace policy to achieve a real change in world politics toward the consolidation of peace, disarmament, and comprehensive and mutually beneficial cooperation.

Bulgaria's Lukanov Visits for Scientific Talks

Holds Economic Talks With Soelle

AU1611121788 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Nov 88 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The 23d meeting of the Council for Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation between the GDR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria began in Berlin on Monday [14 November]. The delegations were headed by Horst Soelle, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and Andrey Lukanov, Minister of Foreign Economic Relations of the Bulgarian People's Republic, respectively.

The talks focus on determining further steps to strengthen economic relations between the two countries on the basis of the agreements concluded in September between Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Discusses Cooperation With Stoph

LD1611110788 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1807 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Measures to further expand cooperation, particularly in fields important for the comprehensive intensification of the national economies of the GDR and Bulgaria, were discussed in Berlin today by GDR Premier Wili Stoph and Andrey Lukanov, Bulgarian chairman in the GDR-Bulgaria Joint Economic Committee and minister for foreign economic relations.

They favor effective cooperation between CEMA member countries. Coordination of the 1991-1995 5-year plan is particularly important.

Stoph and Lukanov emphasized the two countries' agreement to further strengthen the policy of peaceful coexistence and their agreement not to allow any interruption of the disarmament process and the struggle for peace.

Physicians Protest South Pacific Nuclear Tests

AU1111181088 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Nov 88 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—In connection with France's underground nuclear tests on 26 October and 6 November 1988 in the South Pacific, Moritz Mebel, chairman of the association of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, on Wednesday [9 November] sent a message to Joelle Timsit, French ambassador to the GDR. The letter reiterates the standpoint of the medical scientists that are united in the association of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW) that a halt to all nuclear tests would be a decisive step on the path toward a nuclear-free world. Moritz Mebel reported on the corresponding statement adopted by the Fourth European IPPNW Symposium, which was held recently, and requested the diplomat to receive a delegation of the GDR section of the IPPNW, which would like to explain their viewpoint personally.

Refusal of 'Arafat Visa Called 'Arbitrary Act'

AU3011112188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Nov 88 p 2

[W.M. commentary: "They Act Like the Policemen of the World at the Door of the UN"]

[Text] Yasir 'Arafat is not permitted to go to New York. The U.S. authorities are preventing the PLO chairman from entering the UN Headquarters and taking the floor there. And this happens precisely when the UN General Assembly's Palestine debate on the very interests and future of the Palestinian people, whose representative after all is Yasir 'Arafat, is to take place. When, in view of this, UN committees are discussing the transfer of the debate to Geneva or Vienna, the question actually arises whether international dialogue is possible at all in the United States.

What gives the United States the right to open and close the doors of the United Nations at their own discretion? The United States' refusal to grant a visa has caused great indignation all over the world, particularly since the changed options that were laid down in Algiers open up new chances for the PLO to make progress on the path toward a just peace in the Middle East. Is this process to be torpedoed?

This new arbitrary act is not directed just against Yasir 'Arafat and the Palestinian people but against all peoples and states that are UN members. With their course of action against the representative of Palestine, the United States violates the treaty concluded with the United Nations in 1947 in which they committed themselves, in connection with UN activities, to grant all persons free access to the New York headquarters. UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar made a point of stating this once again.

What is the world to think of this arbitrary act? Where is this special demonstration of the United States' interpretation of democracy, human rights, and international law to lead to? What strange democracy is this, not permitting the Palestinian representative to speak because he would say things that do not please Washington? What an absurd attitude to human rights is this, not even permitting the long-suffering Palestinian people to assert their right to life, to independence, to self-determination in the world organization? And what strange interpretation of international law is this, wanting to place the United Nations and, thus, the entire international community, under tutelage!

Everybody who violates the generally recognized norms of cooperation in such a way and maintains such an untenable position, in spite of almost unanimous protests of the international public, loses every right to comment on moral questions in the peoples' lives. It is really time for Washington to stop acting like the policeman of the world.

International Solidarity Day With Palestinians

Honecker Greets 'Arafat

AU3011135288 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Nov 88 p 2

[ND report: "On International Day of Solidarity With the Palestinian People; Decisions of Algiers Are Evidence of the Striving for Peace; Greetings Telegram from Erich Honecker to Yasir 'Arafat"]

[Text] Berlin (ND)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, conveyed the following greetings telegram to Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and commander in chief of the Armed Forces of the Palestinian Revolution:

Dear Comrade 'Arafat,
The "International Day of Solidarity With the Palestinian People" is a welcome occasion for me to convey

sincere militant greetings to the Palestinian people and their only legitimate representative, the PLO.

I am glad to take the opportunity to cordially congratulating you, on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the GDR State Council, and the GDR people, on the important results of the 19th Extraordinary Meeting of the Palestinian National Council.

With the resolutions adopted in Algiers, the Palestinian movement irrefutably documented its striving for a just settlement of the Palestine issue and for peace and security for all peoples of the region. True to its solidarity attitude, the GDR immediately recognized the state of Palestine in terms of international law. I emphatically affirm the call for convening an international Middle East conference.

You may rest assured that the GDR will continue to resolutely support the Palestinian people.

I wish you, dear Comrade, further success, health, and creative vigor.

Erich Honecker,
General Secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

Message to Perez de Cuellar

AU3011171188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Nov 88 p 2

[ND report: "On International Day of Solidarity With the Palestinian People; GDR Favors Permanent and Just Middle East Regulation; Telegram to Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar"]

[Text] Berlin (ND)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, has sent the following telegram to Javier Perez de Cuellar, secretary general of the United Nations:

Esteemed Mr Secretary General,
The GDR has welcomed with satisfaction the resolutions of the Palestinian National Council meeting which will stimulate the envisaged process of a permanent and just regulation of the Middle East conflict, and has recognized, in terms of international law, the Palestinian state, which was established according to the UN Charter and the respective UN resolutions.

In view of the critical situation in the occupied Palestinian territories, it becomes increasingly apparent that, without the recognition and realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to form an independent state, no solution can be found that takes into account the interests of all states and peoples of the region. In the GDR's view, an international conference, under the auspices of the United Nations, would represent a suitable way toward this.

The "International Day of Solidarity With the Palestinian People" serves as an occasion for me to again assure the Palestinian people and its soie legitimate representative, the PLO, of the GDR's unswerving solidarity.

The GDR, as a member of the UN committee for the implementation of the Palestinian people's inalienable rights, will actively support the activities of the world organization for progress in solving the Palestine issue and for peace in the Middle East.

Yours very truly,
Erich Honecker,
General secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

Officials Attend Reception

AU2811180588 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26-27 Nov 88 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity With the Palestinian People, Dr 'Isam Kamil Samil, PLO ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the GDR, gave a reception in Berlin on Friday [25 November]. Joachim Herrmann, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee; Dr Guenther Maleuda, deputy chairman of the GDR State Council; Prof Dr Ludwig Mecklinger, member of the Council of Ministers; and many personalities of GDR social life, among them Dr Heinz-Dieter Winter, deputy minister for foreign affairs, accepted the invitation. The chiefs of diplomatic missions accredited in the GDR were present.

PLO Delegation Visits

AU3011191588 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Nov 88 p 2

[Text] A PLO delegation, headed by 'Ali Mustafa, member of the PLO Executive Committee, was received for a friendly talk in the GDR Solidarity Committee in Berlin on Monday [28 November]. The delegation, which is in the GDR on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity With the Palestinian People, reported on the results of the extraordinary meeting of the Palestinian National Congress. Wolfgang Krause, deputy general secretary of the GDR Solidarity Committee, affirmed the GDR people's unswerving solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian people, which has entered a new stage with the proclamation of the Palestinian state.

In a cordial meeting with Werner Kirchhoff, vice president of the National Council of the National Front and president of the GDR-Palestinian Friendship Committee, Abu 'Ali Mustafa paid tribute to the many years of relations of friendship and solidarity between the peoples of the GDR and Palestine. Werner Kirchhoff reported on the activities of the friendship society.

Palestinian Trade Unionists Visit

AU2911174088 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Nov 88 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A delegation of the Palestinian Trade Union Federation (PTUF) arrived in the GDR on Sunday [27 November]. It is headed by PTUF General Secretary Haydar Ibrahim. The guests were cordially welcomed at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport by Frank Bochow, member of the FDGB Presidium and secretary of the FDBG National Executive Council. They will visit enterprises and facilities in Erfurt Bezirk and acquaint themselves with the working and living conditions of the working people.

TU Leader, Tisch Condemn U.S.

LD3011203188 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1500 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Text] In Berlin today, Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB National Executive, and Haydar Ibrahim, secretary general of the Federation of Palestine Trade Unions, condemned the United States' refusal to allow PLO Leader Yasir 'Arafat to take part in the UN General Assembly in New York.

The two politicians discussed topical aspects of the Palestinian problem following the recent meeting of the Palestinian National Council. They welcomed the PLO's readiness for a peaceful settlement in the Near East and the proclamation of the Palestinian State as important mile stones on the path toward a political settlement of the Near East problem. Complicated problems can be solved gradually through dialogue. A suitable way toward a solution of the Near East conflict is an international peace conference under UN auspices.

Sindermann Chairs People's Chamber Session

LD2911184488 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1607 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Presidium of the GDR's People's Chamber today called the seventh session of the People's Chamber for Wednesday, 14 December, at 1000 Central European time in Berlin.

At the Presidium session, which was chaired by Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, the proposed agenda was confirmed. The highest elected body will debate the draft laws on the 1989 National Economic Plan and the 1989 State Budget. Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, and Ernst Hoefner, minister for finance, will introduce the motions. Speakers from all parliamentary groups will debate the two draft laws.

It is also planned to debate the draft laws on the responsibility and procedure of courts reviewing administrative decisions and on the adaptation of existing rules in this area as well as the fifth amendment to the Criminal Law and the advance payment of compensation law. They will be introduced by Minister for Justice Dr Hans-Joachim Heusinger.

In accordance with the proposed agenda the deputies will also deal with draft laws on the GDR's membership in international conventions and protocols on the safety of international air traffic, and the safety of maritime shipping and of platforms firmly anchored to the continental shelf.

The draft laws to be debated at the session of the highest elected body were passed to the relevant People's Chamber committees for debate.

The Presidium then heard reports on the visit by a People's Chamber delegation to Norway as well as on the meeting of the presidents of the parliaments of Europe, the United States, and Canada in Warsaw.

Honecker Gives Politburo Report at SED Meeting

LD0112095088 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0910 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The 7th SED Central Committee meeting opened Thursday in Berlin.

The Politburo report was given by SED Central Committee General Secretary Erich Honecker. He submitted the Politburo's proposal to convene the 12th SED Congress in Berlin in May 1990.

Berecz Speaks on Domestic, Political Issues

Economic-Political Situation

LD3011215588 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Attila Balint report from the Tatabanya aktiv meeting]

[Text] The series of party aktivs is continuing. Janos Berecz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee took part in an aktiv meeting in Tatabanya's sports hall today. He made a speech to the 1,500 communists. In the following minutes, we will quote a few thoughts from this. Let us start with the introductory words, which attempt to clarify the fundamental situation of today's Hungary:

[Begin Berecz recording] There is, basically, a revolutionary crisis here. This means that we do not simply have to solve a crisis, but that a revolutionary turnabout is needed—in the economy, in the system of political institutions, and in the party's activity; that there is need for a radical reform which solves a revolutionary situation in a revolutionary way, with the development of almost a new superstructure.

The party conference was not able to reach this recognition; it was concerned with something a little different—mainly with a superficial evaluation of the situation, and the necessary change implemented in the leadership.

But since then we have had to reflect on the fact that we are struggling, taking a step here and there, and there is still not a significant turnabout either in the party or in the various areas of our social life, and particularly not in the (?economy) [word indistinct]. Because, if we continue this situation further with half-conviction, half-belief, and with half-uncertainty, and try to avoid the significant and important changes with superficial handling, then the social tension will not be relieved. It might possibly even accumulate further, and events could happen which will then become unmanageable with traditional means.

I do not want to say by this that there are great forces which are working on this. I want to say that if a leading Marxist party does not recognize in a timely fashion the things which have to be done, and does not have a program to do those things that are necesary, and does not try to keep the process of reconstruction, restructuring, reform, turnabout, renewal, firmly but consciously in hand then even independently of us dangerous tendencies could unfold as a consequence of the increase in tension. [end recording]

A turnabout is needed in the economy, in the political system, and within the party, too. But, as to why particularly in these three areas, the speaker also spoke about this. Questions could be put to the speaker beforehand, and he incorporated the answers in his speech. The question: How did we get here, also certainly arose.

[Begin Berecz recording] I would like to say something here about the decency of the leadership of the 1970s and at the same that it is enough only to be decent. Whenever the issue that social-welfare and social conflicts must be undertaken was raised in the interest of implementing a necessary turning point in the economy, it was always the voice of class instinct which gained expression first in the leadership. How is it possible to touch the foundrymen and the metallurgical industry itself if they are the cream, the noblemen of Hungarian society which is building socialism. For when the foundrymen marched with great hammers in hand there was not a peep from reaction; and this is a great political decency toward them. [sentence as heard] However, the metallurgical industry is more lossmaking than useful—or some of its branches are—and then the class instinct was expressed in vain; we merely placed it as a burden on the economy and on the entire society.

The other issue is the political institutional system. We were so carried away with our political institutional system! We were particularly carried away after the spring of 1957 because we changed very many things. We carried out a rare, a great thing—a national conciliation [nemzeti kiegyezest] in 1962. And the significant unfolding of popular consensus, national unity began. This was a fragile and transient thing and as soon as we had gotten into difficult economic and social circumstances it became clear that if the conciliation and cooperation of the nation is not institutionalized, if the practice of democracy rests on some kind of verbal agreement and is not institutionalized then it is fragile, transient, and easily ceases to exist. And it was then that we really learned that this system of institutions is nothing but a weak variation of socialism, one which is patched up, tinkered with—the Stalinist system of institutions.

This system of institutions cannot be continued in a period of greater complexity and tension. In this kind of situation it becomes really clear that a new stage is necessary in the development of our party, too. In a period of rising curve, in a relatively successful economy, in a time of increasing living standard, everybody liked this party. Even those who criticized it did so cautiously, sweetly, almost as if to say that it should not become over- confident. And when a more difficult, open period comes about, when we are stuck economically, then our system of institutions proves to be unsuited to the task of handling this situation, then it becomes clear that the entire edifice rests primarily on the direct intervention and activity of the party. Then we become embarrassed, we are hesitant, we go about with eyes cast to the ground—so excessively that it is unjustified. We look at each other and ask: Is there a need for you, or isn't there? Should I stay or shouldn't I? Should I accept the new party membership or not? How will our fate evolve? What will now happen to our party? Will we find the way out?

I remark here in parentheses that it has again been proved that even in the most decent circumstances and

even from the most decent men one must not create an institution within the party because the institution also holds back, confines, and makes the environment uncertain.

A party can only pass the test if it is evaluated all the time, if it acts openly, if its secrets are only tiny inner secrets needed for its operation, a party in which nothing can be secret which is the business of the entire nation. [end recording]

The Central Committee secretary spoke in detail about the tasks facing the economy, about the fact that it is very important to find the methods for the effective operation of the political system was raised, as was the law regulating the right of association and assembly, and the electoral law as well. Janos Berecz welcomed the renewal efforts of the SZOT and the People's Front, and then he spoke about the functioning of possible parties [a lehetseges partok mukodese]:

[Begin Berecz recording] In these issues we have been speaking a little confusedly. And we have even caused confusion, both among the party membership and among those who demand the creation of some kind of new party. We wish to hold a consultation about this at the forthcoming Central Committee session. But I would like to contribute to the thinking with one or two things.

One is that in Hungary today only one single party, the MSZMP, has a legal basis according to the constitution. The law on association, which we will take to the National Assembly in December, will create the political basis for party-like association. But in order that we should not hurry the process and that we should not begin too early the inevitably necessary contest, we propose that the National Assembly should declare that a separate party law is needed for the operation of parties. This law would specify the formation, the operation, the ending of a party's operation, and the rules of its social activity.

Comrade Pozsgay said in the National Assembly session last week that the creation of this law could take place within the framework of the new constitution, or even after that. Several people suggested that it should be brought forward. This depends on specific circumstances. Why do we say that we should keep to this tempo? First of all, those organizations which are being formed, and which are still becoming formed, are not characteristically parties [nem partjellegueek]. They represent the interests of some kind of social group which they want to represent. And as such they are, in their stands, reform-urging and reform-helping. For the time being there is no social demand for parties, but a political demand does exist already. A political demand! But we have to create the possibility that every kind of political contest will not end in political struggle. But one of the stages of contest should be the joining of forces, the grouping together in coalition, in groupings, in national unity, in consensus—it makes no difference what. The essential thing is that cooperation, not struggle, should unfold between the various forces for the further building of this country, for the guarantee of the democratic content of this country. [end recording]

New National Consensus Called For

AU2411112588 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Nov 88 p 5

[Article by MSZMP Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Janos Berecz: "For a New National Consensus"]

[Text] Are we living through a revolutionary change or an upheaval? Is everything that is happening now a natural consequence of our development and a rational process, or an unexpected stroke of fate, political chaos? In my opinion, forces and intellectual trends that have been active under the surface because of the previous ways of exercising power have suddenly burst into the open as things that accompany recent events, and many people were taken by surprise. These things caused surprise because, contrary to the previous slow pace, the process of democratization is advancing extremely dynamically.

Handling a Crisis

Why did we have to wait with this change until the MSZMP Conference in May? Were society and the party ready for radical changes as early as last summer? They were. But the political leadership was not ready. Various intellectual trends in society and forces in the party calling for renewal had formulated the difficult problems and the range and direction of the tasks as early as the end of 1986. However, this effort could not assert itself despite the important conclusions of the development and government programs of 1987. No matter how difficult it is, I must openly say that the leading role of the party in the political sense of the word did not function in this period. Answers were formulated on fundamental issues and action programs were outlined first outside the party. In itself, this would not be a negative phenomenon, but, in our current political structure, under the conditions of a one-party system, this is obviously a criticism of party activity. The first reactions of the political leadership were often repressive in nature.

In the end, the party leadership could not disregard the deterioration in our country's situation, the opposition to the leadership that was manifested in the mood of the party members', the confidence crisis, and the pressure from the increasing social dissatisfaction. Instead of carrying out political change as a clear consequence of all these, led by efforts to ease the tensions and consolidate the situation, the Politburo decided to propose that the Central Committee convene a party conference. Personalities in the Politburo who had a decisive influence on decisions did not recognize the signs coming from the society, the party, our scientific life, and from the

ideological debate held in the fall of 1987 which prepared the party conference. The efforts to reveal the country's real economic and financial situation were also not evaluated according to their importance.

In spite of all this, the party conference held in May 1988 represented the beginning of a political change achieved by the party members. The party members also recognized that there was a need for renewed leading bodies capable of carrying out such a political change. A conscious political will has emerged.

The new leadership does not have ready-made solutions, but it is committed to carrying out strategically important changes. At the same time, this new leadership is aware of its own limitations. One of these limitations is that it does not have, nor can it have, a comprehensive program to cover all the new issues that emerge. However, it does have a political guideline.

In implementing our political guideline, we should primarily answer the question whether there is any need to deal with a crisis or to carry out a revolutionary transformation of our society? It is a fact that we should also deal with settling crises. However, if, in the present situation, our policy limited itself only to dealing with crises, it would in fact be demonstrating a defensive attitude. The essence of the aforementioned question is whether we have the ability to solve these difficulties or not? In the current situation in Hungary, this does not depend solely on a professionally formulated program of avoiding crises. First of all, we should provide an answer to the question whether the party is able to combine this program with the ripe social revolution. Finding solutions for a situation burdened with crisis phenomena and working out a new style of socialism require and enable revolutionary changes. Both our external and domestic conditions are supportive of reforms, but this change could turn into chaos if our answers and practice are not new in style, and are not revolutionary.

The use of the concept of social revolution is justified precisely because this term expresses a fundamental qualitative change. Energies accumulated in society which have reached a critical mass have turned into a need for a new style of socialism and into a need to do away with the current model of socialism. The past 15 years have also proved that these processes cannot be handled by supressing them or by the small steps made so far. At the right time, and not delayed, these processes will quite rapidly create the bases for our further development in a few years' time.

Compared with the illusion of previous order, many people might think that there is chaos today. However, we must accept and learn to deal with the fact that revolutionary changes are naturally accompanied by a stormy reorganization of previous relations and by the dynamic, and sometimes unexpected, appearance of new phenomena. Such changes accompany the current period. As a consequence of restructuring, these changes are precisely intended to create the new order of things.

Will revolution or chaos provide an answer to the great historical questions of Hungarian development? We cannot avoid this question also when we analyze the tragic experiences of Hungary's recent past. This dilemma emerged between 1953 and 1956 too, when a people's democratic movement was emerging, but its socialist, national, and revolutionary efforts failed to materialize in that period, and many of its demands were implemented later by the MSZMP. It is also particularly difficult to evaluate this process because, following Imre Nagy's trial, this motive—efforts aimed at national and socialist renewal—got lost in the process of evaluations. I also feel personally responsible here.

At the same time, we should not forget that the year 1956 represents a national tragedy in Hungarian history. There is no doubt that, essentially, in its bloody reality, the armed struggle was a counterrevolution. However, this was not the intention of many of the participants in this armed struggle; on the contrary, many people judged the events quite differently.

Our Recent Past

The fact that forces in the party and society which demanded renewal failed to meet in solving the conflict should serve as a lesson that is valid to this very day. On the contrary, these forces became even more divided in the fateful moments, and what is even more dramatic, they confronted each other. The result: Hungarian blood flowed on each side. The emotional effects are still present. We can say together with [Hungarian writer] Gyula Illes that "thoughts that clarify things do not settle passions." However, we should be able to settle our thoughts and emotions by now also because we should not burden the generations innocent of our mistakes. We should overcome the state in which we only accuse each other and claim that only good and bad people were confronting each other. Let us admit that those events were much more complex than that. We should reconsider the question whether only one side or the other can be right? Guaranteeing the future of our nation requires the analysis and acceptance of every lesson, the understanding of every honest force, and the collaboration of very responsible political factor. The opposite can only be a dictate aimed at eliminating and defeating others, a replacement of one evaluation with the other, and rehabilitation of one side simultaneously with the accusing of the other. This should be avoided.

And even more important, and this is already a question of present Hungarian reality, is whether we will become divided again and even confront each other? Can this lead to a solution? The answer of the MSZMP is negative. We do not claim this because the MSZMP is predestined to play a leading role, but because this party is striving to create a new national consensus. If it can

fulfill this task, it will prove its leading role. However, we draw attention to the fact that the renewal of non-Marxist forces and a rethinking of their historic role are indispensable for such a new national consensus that would serve the country's interests. At the same time, we are well aware of the fact that mutual confidence is needed to avoid camps being organized against each other. This is what happened in the tragic days of 1956 and these events still affect our views and emotions.

What Does the Party Offer?

It has happened with unfortunate frequency in Hungarian history that we have attempted to solve a given conflict by physically or spiritually eliminating the other side. This attitude has been haunting us for 1,000 years. Fortunately, there are also examples of cases when, if sufficient forces united and the nation, instead of risking its fate, took it into its own hands, the nation was able to start on the road it had chosen. The greatness of Ferenc Deak and his generation lies precisely in the achievement of a compromise and reconciliation. Their example should serve as a lesson to this very day.

Let us find this compromise, for the benefit of our nation, in order to create a new national consensus. We should not force on each other our historical judgment of our recent past. The party accepts the positions of Marxist historical science. However, on the basis of facts and irrespective of party affiliation, other people also have the right to judge the events. Let us cooperate in revealing and debating the events in a scientific way and by considering all the facts. Let us keep together the memory of the human suffering and sacrifices of the Hungarian recent past.

It is also necessary to analyze in detail the reasons for the failure of our policy to renew itself in the past 15 years, its failure to avoid the sudden halt and even regression in our development, despite the occasional efforts to do so.

Our nation's interests require us to find today the points of a national consensus which could represent the framework and substance of a compromise. We should not become a burden nation for Europe, and the political forces involved in our affairs and those ready to become involved bear a great responsibility in this. Should we become the people who destroy the foundations of the common European house that is currently under construction? We will have the understanding of the others only if understanding prevails at home, too. Science and clarifying debates could reveal a more complete truth. However, truth is so complex that, by selecting various elements of it, honest forces could also find themselves in conflict with each other; by understanding and accepting this truth not in a unilateral way and not through efforts to monopolize it, we can reach to a consensus. I believe in, and recommend this consensus as an expedient alternative.

At its session on 1-2 November this year, the Central Committee discussed the concepts of a new national consensus offered by the party and submitted them to public debate. In this historical moment, we are clarifying and enriching our principles in further debates. With this, a process can start in which forces could unite and act together in the main directions in order to meet the tremendous challenges facing our nation.

The party offers an independent economic and social policy based on national interests. By continuing the traditions of the Hungarian progressive forces and perfecting them under the new conditions, the party proposes coupling the causes of our nation, of progress, and of socialism. It also proposes the creation of an efficient market economy; a more firm opening toward the world based on modernization; the implementation of the right of self-organization as a new element of socialism under conditions of political pluralism; creation of a cooperation of forces active in the new development course of the socialist society, forces that assert the interests of the Hungarian society and represent all the progressive, left-wing, democratic, and national efforts; the creation and guarantee of a firm constitutionality which is the basis of a secure order and constitutional state and which includes, in the framework of a democratic political order, the legal regulations for cooperation between the party, the government, the various bodies that represent interests, and the social and political movements.

The party offers recognition for the possibilities of all the ideological trends striving to renew socialism to create a joint political program, including the active cooperation of non-Marxist people, that is—religious people, in shaping society.

The party is unable to implement the political renewal on its own. There is no such force in the society that could carry this task out on its own. Thus, the need for collaboration and cooperation is an elementary consequence.

We regard the appearance of different views and their efforts to be represented as natural. We should create a basis wide enough to enable these views to participate in our cooperation by preserving their political nature. The party proposes that the idea of national development should be the basis of political collaboration, in harmony with the current principles and the principles to be included in our renewed socialist constitution.

Cooperation—Alliance—Coalition

The party is ready today to join forces with the political organizations that agree with all these or with a part of all these principles in working out the conditions of cooperation, alliance, and coalition. In this process, we should particularly respect each other's views, political nature, and independence. We should also make it

possible for these movements to participate in accepting political responsibilities. Legal guarantees for this should be created within a short time.

A well known and clear-cut political concept and program of the participants is a natural requirement for this dialogue, the various levels of contacts, and primarily for the creation of a coalition. Under such conditions, and in order to achieve these goals, the establishment of contacts between the party and the political organizations in question can take place in the near future.

Of course, the conditions of cooperation can be clarified and shaped during debates. This does not exclude, but even expects the continuation of disagreements on certain issues. It can also happen that, if no cooperation is achieved in certain national policy issues, there can still be opportunities for such cooperation on the local level. We should strive for cooperation and collaboration, rather than for excluding each other.

The contradiction is real today that a political pluralism is emerging under conditions of a one-party system simultaneously with the formulation of the need for a multiparty system. It is still impossible to provide a clear answer to what extent is this demand an intellectual issue or to what extent is this a reflection of real social interests, and whether this demand has any social basis at all. If the two factors meet, the party formations will develop. However, this cannot be a hastily developed system, but only an organic part in society's development.

The MSZMP party policy position concerning this issue was formulated at the party conference, and a similar party forum can modify this position. Thus, the MSZMP is acting under the conditions of a one-party system in the current political period. At the same time, by shaping our political concepts, we already strive to cooperate with the new political movements in the way we cooperated previously, too.

One can already notice the type of changes underway in the current political period. The conditions for the new forms are developing in a simultaneous and parallel way: preparation of the law on associations; working out a new, modified constitution; preparation of a planned party law; and working out the election law. At the same time, processes that contribute to the conditions of a new type of socialism will presumably meet at the time of the National Assembly elections and the 14th party congress. These changes will occur not in some distant future but quite soon, within months or 1-2 years.

In these processes, when society is undergoing a radical change, our party should also change considerably. It should prepare itself for the fact that, in the new political period, when the changing constitution will serve as the legal basis of a more efficient, renewed, and socialist development of our society, in case of a multiparty system, the party that will be most suitable for this goal will play the role of political leader.

Aware of all these things, we can answer the following question: Are we living in a thoroughly considered revolution or in chaos? Is everything that is happening today a result of our development or an unexpected stroke of fate and chaos? The answer is yes—to a revolutionary transformation demanded by development; and no—to chaos, disorder, and a stroke of fate.

Fejti Queried on Reforms, Changes to Constitution

LD2911032488 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 27 Nov 88

[Interview with MSZMP Secretary Gyorgy Fejti on "The Week" program by unidentified correspondent—live or recorded; no video available]

[Text] [Correspondent] Let me greet in the studio Gyorgy Fejti. I think I can safely say that you have held a busy week. It is enough to think of the Central Committee session and the National Assembly's work. Let us begin. Here is a concern which has come up very often in recent weeks and months. What will the new constitution be like? How will we create it anew? How is this work progressing?

[Fejti] The comprehensive review of the Constitution has been on the agenda for some time. Ten working parties composed of highly qualified specialists are working on it, and the work has reached the stage where certain fundamental conclusions can be drawn. One such conclusion can be formulated as follows: In recent decades there have been societal and economic changes of such magnitude that they go beyond that which could be accommodated within the framework of a simple modification of the Constitution. Thus, it is not a reform of the Constitution that we must undertake but the drawing up of a new constitution.

Another important conclusion is that of the two types of constitution, namely the declarative type and the type which is essentially in the nature of legal regulations. Our present constitution is declarative, the new constitution will have to be of the second type. That is—it will have to include the system of guarantees of its employment.

Beyond this, constitutional scholarship is paying considerable attention to the redefinition of the social order and political system of the Hungarian People's Republic, including the constitutional tasks of the party and of the social organizations, as well as a modern definition of property relations, and the question of constitutional management. I could mention a whole range of further issues, among them the citizens' rights, which we wish to have reflected in a modern form and in full harmony with the obligations accepted in the international laws.

[Correspondent] Thus, the work is under way and soon we shall get to the essence of the matter.

[Fejti] I believe, and this is in harmony with the set pace, that the basic concept of the Constitution will be ready by the middle of next year, and will be in a state fit for debate. It will also have to be considered whether perhaps the new constitution should come into force by way of a plebiscite, that is—a referendum.

[Correspondent] Since you have mentioned a referendum, this was raised at the Central Committee session as well, in what form will a referendum be possible in Hungary in the future? I ask this also because it is not a matter of indifference in what matters a referendum is held. The other half of the question is that this practice differs from country to country. Are we treading a new path, or are there things we can filter from other countries' practices?

[Fejti] From this point of view, too, it is worthwhile for us to study international practice very thoroughly. What we want to achieve with the referendum as a legal institution, first and foremost, is that, besides the indirect form of decisionmaking, there should also develop a form of direct decisionmaking, that is to say, one based on civic rights. This is the function of a referendum, which is generally directed at issues of fundamental importance, or issues in which public opinion is strongly divided. In this latter case a referendum takes place generally at the citizens' initiative. I would like to emphasize that here it is not the fact of the referendum itself which is important, but that work of agitation which precedes the referendum, in favor of a proposal or against a proposal. Therefore, the citizen can already feel himself to be strongly involved in the act of referendum. For this reason this institution can be an important form of creating social consensus.

Now then, as for what issues are put on the agenda generally, this is a variable of political decisions in the majority of cases.

[Correspondent] Yes, because there may be a distinction between what we consider a fundamental issue, and what, should I say, public opinion considers a fundamental issue.

[Fejti] That is precisely it. I would add that the legal regulations do not so much lay down in what issues a referendum must be held, although such a practice also exists; it is generally the form of state, the Constitution, the issue of joining major international organizations, or military organization, that are usually submitted to a referendum. However, what is more frequent in law is exclusion, that is—the exclusion in the sphere of issues to be submitted to a referendum.

[Correspondent] In other words, what issues are not to be submitted.

[Fejti] Yes, what are not to be submitted; again this has its own logic. For example, to this category belongs the tax system, or the adoption of the budget, or the issue of honoring international commitments. So, these can generally not constitute the subject of a referendum. Therefore, I can sum up what I have to say as follows: In principle every issue that belongs to the sphere of influence of Parliament, or of the councils, can constitute the subject of a referendum.

At the same time, referendum is not suited for making nuanced decisions. For the citizens can only choose between the alternative "yes" and "no".

[Correspondent] I would return for one moment to the Constitution, and on the following pretext: Until this comes into being, legislative work continues all the time. A good number of new laws will come into being. Do not think this to be a strange question, but if once we have a new constitution, which will change many things fundamentally, then will these laws which in the meantime are created, not then become void? In other words, how much sense is there in legislative work now, until there is a new constitution?

[Fejti] This is a justified question; it is an issue on the citizens' minds. It is a question of a work running on parallel lines. So, while we are preparing the concept of the new constitution, legislation that accords with the spirit of this new constitution is not excluded. At the same time, in our life today there is a very accelerated rhythm, and this applies to legislation as well. There are many gaps in the law, as we say. Now, we have stepped in a very determined manner onto the path of so-called socialist constitutional statehood. Thus, we wish to create relations laid down in clear-cut laws. Therefore, it is simply a question of the fact that we do not have the time to wait until the new constitution is born and to start the legal regulation of fundamental issues after the new constitution.

I would give a few examples of this. It would seem irrational if we were to wait for the new constitution, for example, in the matter of the law on association and assembly, or the law on the constitutional court, or the law introducting the institution of the referendum, or for example the law regulating issues connected with parliamentary procedure.

[Correspondent] Let me ask you about parliament, since you have mentioned it. The present form of parliament for very many people raises the question whether it is all suited, amid present conditions, for the work it must perform. Many people say it should resign, it should transform. I will not list these arguments and counterarguments. But, in your view, does this now mean that they want to run down the work of parliament at present, or do they expect a justified renewal, precisely of parliament as well?

[Fejti] This is a complex question. I often wonder about this. On the whole, we are now living in the age of repudiations [megtagadasok], the era of denial and rejection. Behind this there is a social mood, there is a background. As to how broad this background is, it would be very hard to judge for the time being. This can be explained, from many points of view, with the state of transition in which we are living. Therefore, I do not consider this necessarily as a tragic phenomenon. At the same time, precisely for the purpose of guaranteeing stability in the transition, stable institutions are needed. I consider it as an extremely abnormal thing, especially if we are proceeding toward the concept of a constitutional state, if certain persons or groups include parliament as well in the ranks of instutions that can be attacked daily.

As a matter of fact, this does not much accord with international practice, either. Parliament is generally wreathed in respect. Although there is no doubt that citizens qualify the work of parliament in very many ways, I believe that it is not in our interest, either internationally or from the domestic political viewpoint to bring the legitimacy of parliament into doubt. As a matter of act this would also be nonsense legally. For the 1985 elections, if you recall, were welcomed, both by international public opinion and by domestic public opinion, as an important event. In connection with the elections, the question of doubting the legitimacy of the elections was not even raised.

New Economic Minister Nyers Interviewed

AU3011132488 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 25 Nov 88 p 4

[Interview with Rezso Nyers, member of the MSZMP Politburo and minister of state, by Ilona Kocsi in parliament on 24 November: "Interview With Rezso Nyers—I Remain the Same Person as Before"]

[Text] In the last National Assembly session, Rezso Nyers was still able to walk up and down the corridors of the parliament building without being submitted to the onslaught of journalists, as has been the case during the current session, following his appointment as minister of state. In a quick interview in the corridors of the parliament, we asked him, among other things about the changes that this new position will make to his life.

[Kocsi] You have gained great popularity as a member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and as an independent researcher. Are you not afraid that this popularity might decline following your appointment as minister of state?

[Nyers] I am not afraid of this because I have already lived through a period when I was not popular, and I started again. However, I am concerned about the extent to which a man can preserve his independence and sovereign thoughts. Of course, I also have experience in this, but it is an eternal dilemma for people who are committed to a movement and a trend and who, at the same time, also want to remain impartial. The really important thing is not that one should remain on the side lines, but that one should be able to preserve one's impartiality. I got into this dilemma when I accepted this government function, and it had already happened to me when I accepted a party function. However, if you are afraid of wolves, you should not go into the woods. However, one has to go into the woods, so one should not be afraid of wolves: One should be aware that there may be a wolf lying in wait for one's impartiality, one's free way of thinking, and one's independence. This is what I am concerned about! Popularity is welcome, but, according to my experience, popularity is never balanced: There is either too little or too much. Popularity is a very good thing, but it is transient.

[Kocsi] However, in the current period, which is characterized by a lack of confidence, a political body could really use some popular people. The body in question would thus also receive something of the personal popularity....

[Nyers] I would welcome it if the previous confidence in me remained the same, and I know that I can obtain this goal by remaining the same person as I have always been.

[Kocsi] Following the current changes in personnel, the government has three leaders who are also members of the MSZMP Politburo. How is this possible to carry out the separation of government and party activities?

[Nyers] These two activities do not contradict each other. Both the government and the Politburo have many more members, and thus, the presence of these three persons does not produce a harmful intertwining. On the contrary, I would say that this is still on a desirable level. There is a need for such a level of contacts.

[Kocsi] When the issue of the distribution of work was discussed, you were asked about the way you and Miklos Nemeth will work together. There was no mention of distribution of work with Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy.

[Nyers] The deputy premier will continue to manage economic policy and the economic mechanism. He has overall responsibility for economic policy management within the government. At least, that is the way I understand it, but this is not yet legally settled....

[Kocsi] .... and then, what will your job be?

[Nyers] I will deal with economic reforms. The two tasks together would be too heavy a burden for one person. If the officials in question follow the same direction, they can cooperate properly.

[Kocsi] To the last day, it was not clear who had been nominated as premier and who had been nominated as minister of state. Certain rumors had it that you had also

been considered as a future premier. Is it not a loss of prestige that you have become "only" a minister of state? This question is also justified because you have a career of decades of political and economic leadership behind you.

[Nyers] This does not at all mean a loss of prestige for me. I feel better this way than I could feel as premier. I completely agree with our decision to elect Miklos Nemeth as premier, and it would be very sad if my social prestige depended on this. There is no value in a prestige that depends on whether one has a higher or lower rank.

[Kocsi] Does this matter to Rezso Nyers, as a private individual?

[Nyers] I have had the good fortune in life to move both upwards and downwards. Thus, this is no problem for me. I am 65 years old, and, according to my principled views, an advisory role is the most suitable one at this age. If one is charged with something in addition to this advisory role, one should accept this burden. However, one has to be aware of the fact that one is 65 years old and also of one's capacity for carrying burdens.

[Kocsi] Could we say, then, with slight exaggeration, that the "great comeback" has come a little late?

[Nyers] Well, yes, it has, from the viewpoint that I would have been more active 10 years ago. But I am still happy that I did not have to wait another 10 years.

[Kocsi] Are you afraid that the political forces that ousted you from the political leadership at the beginning of the seventies will again become active against you now?

[Nyers] No, I am not afraid of that now. If international trends were different, I would fear it. Today, things are different. In my view, people who would previously have rejected it, have now also come to the conclusion that this is the kind of policy we have to conduct now. Perhaps they do not sympathize with the persons, or they would do things differently. Many honest people had conservative positions before, and they now feel that Hungary needs a reform policy. I know their positions because, due to my political and social circle of activity, I have an extremely wide sphere of contacts. I mostly feel at home with the reformers, but I also have contacts with conservative circles, with all the trends of the workers movement, and even with people and groups that are extremists and move on the fringe of our social system. Therefore, I do not feel that anybody can outline another concept here and now. People say that we are uncertain and are still searching for ways, and they claim that we should do this more firmly.... But nobody comes up with another proposal.

[Kocsi] Let us talk again about government activity: You declared that you did not want to become the opposition to the government....

[Nyers] I said that in connection with the Bos-Nagymaros investment project, but I do not want to become an opposition to the government on this issue either. Neither do I want to reevaluate the large-scale investment projects retroactively. Signed contracts should, of course, be fulfilled....

[Kocsi] You have been able to preserve your personality and autonomous way of thinking within the Politburo. You have even been able to express your different opinions publicly. However, it might happen that, in the current difficult economic situation, there will be emphasis on unity in government activity, at least in its external manifestations. How will you be able to preserve your aforementioned independence then?

[Nyers] In my view, the government would be acting in the wrong way if it restored the practice of the fifties and appointed precisely people who do not agree with a decision to argue in favor of these decisions publicly. One should expect, of course, that a government member should refrain from speaking against a government decision and should accept that decision. Government discipline demands this, just as party discipline also has its rules. However, this does not mean that one should lose one's personality.

Kovacs Outlines Policy on Unemployment

LD3011135888 Budapest MTI in English 1143 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 30, 1988 (MTI-ECONEWS)—"The HSWP acknowledges that unemployment will be part and parcel even of socialist society in the future, and does not wish to take a stand on who should get dole: this is for the government and the unions to decide", said Mr Imre Kovacs, head of the HSWP CC economic policy department, after the Tuesday meeting of the party's Political Committee.

He said it was only mass and long-term unemployment that the party considered unacceptable, it regarded efficient employment as the aim of the forthcoming years, whilst at the same time constantly seeking to make it complete.

If over 2 per cent of the country's total workforce, that is—more than 100,000 people—were to be laid off, then the party would deem this to be mass unemployment. The party did not specify what was to be understood by "long-term", but accepts that some people set the line at six months, others at a year. "The political Committee does not concern itself with such details, as they do not affect the concept", Mr Kovacs said.

Out of 10.6 million people in Hungary, 6.06 million are able to work, and 4.84 million are actually active in jobs. At the end of March, the country had an unemployment figure of 16,845, which had become 15,254 by the end of September. At the same time, there are around 70,000

job vacancies, more than at the beginning of the year, but neither geographically nor professionally do they tally with the demand of the unemployed.

Spokesman Marosan Comments on Economy

AU2211140488 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 16 Nov 88 p 2

[Interview with Gyorgy Marosan, Hungarian Government spokesman, by ZYCIE WARSZAWY 'special Hungarian correspondent' Grzegorz Lubczyk: "So Much Has Yet To Change"—Budapest, date not given]

[Text] [Lubczyk] The complicated socioeconomic situation in Hungary is certainly not making life easy for the government spokesman.

[Marosan] You are right. A lot depends on who says that we have a complicated economic situation. Indeed, crisis phenomena, and even a crisis itself, have appeared in the economy. And once again one can interpret these concepts in different ways. After all, the state is functioning relatively normally and the market is a long way away from goods shortages, but if one realizes how efficient the economies of other countries are, one can accuse ours of a lot of things.

[Lubczyk] After several months in office, what have been your most difficult moments?

[Marosan] Three days after my appointment, the miners of Pecs gave me a baptism by fire. Half of Hungary called on the government to use strong-arm tactics, and the other half admitted that the striking miners were right.

The Danube dam has been an excellent lesson for me. It is like encapsulating social moods inside a drop of water. Economic and ecological arguments have been put forth. There are even those who threw the entire government's credibility into question. It is difficult to talk to people who fail to realize that the country's present situation is the fault of the past. Another reason why it was difficult to defend Premier Grosz' decision was that the building of the Nagymaros dam was never discussed in public beforehand, and it was forbidden to write about it.

[Lubczyk] The lack of confidence in the government probably comes as no surprise.

[Marosan] More than that; I would say it is often justified. Today there is not a single milieu without a justified reason to ask for higher wages or an improvement to its standard of living. However, seldom does anyone ever pay attention to past events, and generally everyone blames the present government for the situation today. I have grown fond of Premier Messner's saying "The government will go, but the problems will stay." By the way, my boss is resigning from the office of premier in order to keep the promise he made when he was elected party general secretary.

[Lubczyk] As far as I can tell, the press has not been fond of the Grosz government.

[Marosan] One frequently felt that the press was not on his side. If the same journalist in the same newspaper first asks why a certain enterprise is not receiving any subsidies, and then says that it ought to be closed down, he does not support a steady line. Of course, one can change this situation by making members of the government provide more concrete information. Contacts like this ought to be the order of the day.

[Lubczyk] The present premier has shown on more than one occasion how to do this.

[Marosan] In this sphere, too, Karoly Grosz has abandoned many old conventions. For example, during a 4 and ½ hour flight to Tehran, he spent 2 and ½ hours talking to journalists. If the stewardess had not persuaded him to stop, he would not have had a minute of rest. The journalists said that during this flight, they had spoken to him more than they had ever spoken to his predecessor in 7 years. Unfortunately, many leadership cadres are still convinced that the less one talks to the press, the less trouble there is from it. Luckily, this approach is changing slowly.

[Lubczyk] When describing Hungary in November 1988, what would you indicate in particular?

[Marosan] Hungary is on the way—that is perhaps the most concise way of putting it. We have detected many faults in our present sociopolitical model because it is incapable of reacting to problems quickly. In other words, the traditional model of socialism has failed. We tried to introduce changes in 1968. Looking back, we can see that that was just the start of modernization, but still within the old framework. The May party conference, which was also hailed in Poland, presented Hungary with a great chance. This year and next year are a period of a major breakthrough. I can honestly say that we are forming a new model of socialism. Its silhouette is already visible.

[Lubczyk] So please sketch it.

[Marosan] We will have a market economy and mixed ownership. The state will only interfere in inefficient bodies. We want the best possible conditions for private enterprise. The state administration is undergoing reform. There will be less ministers. Perhaps the office of deputy premier will be abolished. There is a chance that a "summit ministry" will appear within the next 6 months.

[Lubczyk] A what?

[Marosan] Right now, Medgyessy, as deputy premier, is in charge of the planning commission and other bodies, all of which behave like miniature governments. We want to abolish them. The decisions will either be made

by the government or by the ministries themselves. The status and role of a minister will change. From a representative of a ministry, he will turn into the highest person in the government and the creator and pursuer of a specified strategy in a given sphere. It is likely that the Ministry of Finance, National Planning Office, State Office for Wages and Labor, and Office of Materials will merge into a single ministry of economy. We want to avoid the existing duality of decisionmaking, and unite efforts.

Finally, we are faced with thorough changes to the political system. Two fundamental acts are due to be passed this year, which lay down civic rights afresh, as it were, and define the relations between the state and the citizen. A lot indicates that the next 2 years will be as important for Hungary as the period 1945-49 was.

[Lubczyk] The restructuring has indeed picked up speed. Even specialists in Hungarian affairs are confused by the details.

[Marosan] So is Hungary. We are gradually abandoning components belonging to the old model, and components of the new model are gradually appearing in their place. A considerable part of society is upset by this, and regards it all as chaos. I think this is creative chaos.

[Lubczyk] In a few day's time, Karoly Grosz will say goodbye to his office as premier. Do you have a prepared assessment of his administration yet?

[Marosan] It is not easy to assess these 16 months. Various things have been said about them. The problems of previous years were a kind of inheritance for Grosz from which he had to begin. The Grosz government promised to alter the outdated socioeconomic model and struggle consistently to achieve specified goals. It did not promise rapid success. Taking this into account, I think that last year was a successful one as far as stability is concerned.

[Lubczyk] How would you justify that?

[Marosan] The people, and nearly every economist, were convinced that the government would apply to reschedule debt repayments and that instead of the announced 15 percent price increases, prices would go up by at least twice that amount. Toward the end of last year, there was a danger that the commoditity market would collapse. The specter of many thousands of jobless people also emerged.

And yet the market did not collapse, figures indicate that prices will go up by 16.5 percent, and there is a positive balance of payments and trade surplus with countries of the second area of payments. No doubt these are achievements, but that does not mean the situation is no longer serious. The economic restructuring is too slow. But the renewal program calls for 4 years, and we have only completed 1 year.

[Lubczyk] In his latest interview for MAGYAR HIRLAP, Premier Grosz said that the future head of the government will be chosen out of five candidates. I understand that they are: Pozsgay, Nyers, Nemeth (Miklos), Tatai, and Ivanyi. Are these names correct?

[Marosan] Yes.

[Lubczyk] It is also said that no one is eager to become premier.

[Marosan] That is also true. I can understand these people. After all, the new premier is going to have to solve so many problems. However, I can assure you that the new head of the government will be one of the people you have mentioned. The MSZMP Central Committee plenum will adopt a stance on 22 November, the Presidium of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front will be informed of this stance on 23 November, and the National Assembly will make the final decision on 24 November.

[Lubczyk] Do you not fear you might lose your job?

[Marosan] My situation is like that of the premier. I do not fear the future. I have a solid profession.

[Lubczyk] Could you describe it to ZYCIE WARSZAWY readers?

[Marosan] I am a physicist. For many years, I carried out scientific work at the Central Scientific Research Institute in Csepel. After that, I became a candidate of philosophical science in the Soviet Union. On my return to Hungary, I worked at the National Technical Development Committee, in 1981 I moved to the Ministry of Industry, and on the threshold of 1983 and 1984 I founded one of the new banks. Just as I was enjoying being a director of a decent firm, I was invited to work in the party Central Committee.

[Lubczyk] Did you inherit these interests from your father? (Grzegorz Lubczyk's note: Gyorgy Marosan was one of Kadar's closest collaborators after 1956 and a key figure in the Politburo of that time. After 1960, he left the top party leadership on his own initiative, and then left the party itself. He returned to it many years later.)

[Marosan] Indeed, I grew up in a milieu where politics was talked about very much. I am 42 years old.

[Lubczyk] Thank you for the interview.

Varkonyi Leaves Malaysia for Philippines

LD3011181988 Budapest MTI in English 1514 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Text] Manila, November 30 (MTI)—On Wednesday Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi ended his official visit to Malaysia and left for the Philippines. At

the Manila airport he was welcomed by his host, Foreign Minister Raul Manglapus. In Manila, Mr Varkonyi is to meet politicians and senior representatives of business life.

Previously, Mr Varkonyi held talks in Kuala Lumpur with the minister of transport on better markets for Hungarian vehicle industrial machines. The rail buses of Ganz are in regular use in Malysian transport. Mr Varkonyi also visited the centre of the Malaysian state railways and saw round Malaysia's first private car factory.

At a press conference in Kuala Lumpur, the Hungarian foreign minister said that the talks reflected not only the identity of political views, but were also important from the economic point of view. An official basis of modernizing Hungarian-Malaysian cooperation is being worked out.

On Wednesday Peter Varkonyi left Kuala Lumpur for an official visit to the capital of the Philippines.

Further Reportage

For reportage covering the four-day visit of Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi to Malaysia, including a call on his Malaysian counterpart Hassan Omar, and a talk with Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamed, see the Brunei, Malaysia & Singapore section of the 29 November East Asia DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Budapest, Manila To Open Diplomatic Missions

LD0112093588 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0700 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] The Philippines and Hungary have reached an agreement in principle on opening diplomatic representations in one another's capitals. Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi held discussions in Manila with [Foreign Secretary] Raul Manglapus, head of diplomacy of the Philippines. A decision has not yet been reached on the date the representations are to be opened.

Further Reportage

For coverage of the visit of Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi and his six-member delegation to the Philippines, including reportage on meetings with President Aquino and Vice President Laurel, see the Philippines section of the 1 Dec East Asia DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Miodowicz, Walesa Hold TV Debate 30 Nov

Debate Conditions Discussed

LD3011163888 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Text] The managers of the Polish Television crew have been informed of Lech Walesa's request for his television discussion with Alfred Miodowicz, conducted live and broadcast, to be simultaneously recorded by an eight-member crew under the direction of Andrzej Wajda, for—as it was called—documentation and control purposes. The scenographer and head of production were also to cooperate in the studio with Andrzej Wajda on the forementioned recording.

Though the involvement—in the guise of producer of a television broadcast—of a film producer of the stature of Andrzej Wajda is amazing, nevertheless, Lech Walesa's request was considered in good faith, without searching for hidden meanings.

Polish Television believes that there is no need to duplicate the recording of the broadcast and, moreover, complying with such a request would complicate work in the studio by increasing the number of cameras from three to five, and could effect the quality of transmission. A television debate of this nature, broadcast live, demands special concentration on the part of the recording team, and thus there is a need to eliminate everything which could interfere in the work.

Also, Polish Television, in accordance with the current practice, will take full responsibility for the technical quality of the transmission. Experts can confirm that during live broadcasts, conducted according to principles established in advance, the technical and production personnel are not able to engage in any manipulation whatsoever in favor of any participant in the debate. This is because everything is played out in front of the television viewers.

That was a declaration by the press spokesman of Polish Television.

Live TV Debate Aired

LD3011232088 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1900 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Studio debate between Lech Walesa and Alfred Miodowicz, not further identified, introduced by Marek Tumanowicz—live]

[Text] [Tumanowicz] Hello, ladies and gentlemen, from Studio 4 at Polish Television. I welcome Messrs Alfred Miodowicz and Lech Walesa. We are starting a direct relay of a debate to which, I would like to remind you, Mr Walesa was invited by Mr Miodowicz. We have established that the discussion will last up to 40 minutes and that 5 minutes before time runs out there will be an audible signal to warn both participants that the time is running out. We also have established that the discussion will be started by Mr Miodowicz. Go ahead, please.

[Miodowicz] Thank you, very much.

Years have passed, Mr Walesa, since the last time I saw you in Nowa Huta, and I have to say that looking at you I feel as if I were looking at my own mirror image. I, too, have lost some hair, have gone gray, and I see, Mr Walesa, that your moustache, too, is getting somewhat streaked with gray. Years have passed; we have a different situation, but the concerns—our people's concerns—remain the same. I would like to say right away that if we were to enumerate all our society's concerns and troubles, I am aware of what they are, just as you are yourself.

We revised these issues for 2 days in Lodz recently. What are they? They are daily concerns: The shortage of medicines; lines—lines in shops and at bus and tram stops—they are the inability to update the old portfolio pensions and the fact that a new old portfolio is being created for our labor veterans; it is the situation in which we constantly are unable to move ahead in production because our machines are getting old; it is the question of our debts which, with great difficulty and incompletely, we not only cannot pay back, but even make up for what results from, let us say, the formalities following from these debts; it is, first and foremost, the working people's worries and the lack of prospects for the young. I am aware of these things, and I would like us not to go on enumerating them.

A dramatic division within work forces followed as a result of the April-May and August strikes. I am acquainted with your speech, Mr Walesa, to the workforce, to the shipyard workers, in which you said that you are crying with one eye and laughing with the other. This saddened me somewhat since, in this present situation in which our country finds itself, both eyes—the left and the right—should be sad.

I know the effects of strikes; well—not one [word indistinct] of these economic effects—which have been presented in this or that way, for we are constantly bickering as to what these effects are. Some people exaggerate them, others minimize them. I have noticed, both in the Andalusia mine, in Stalowa Wola, in our own steel works complex in Krakow, and among the Szczecin port workers that that the work forces are dramatically divided. They are divided into those who went on strike and those who did not go on strike, into those who organized the strikes and those who were against them. In my view, and I do have some workplace experience, these are uncommon and long-lasting divisions. They do not lead to the consolidation, the rallying of work forces around what the work forces are to do.

A second, most important point: Can one consider that union pluralism will solve all our problems? If it were so, if one could bring this about, then I am in favor [zwolennik] of such a pluralism. However, I am quite certain that it will not bring this about.

You, Mr Walesa, are saying, obviously not incorrectly, that we will not move if we do not have financial support and help from the West. We never will receive such support in a situation in which we are blocked by a lack of decision concerning the relegalization of Solidarity. I am convinced that if it occurred, we would have this support, but in what situation? I think, I am convinced that we will get support only when we jump at each other's throat, when we repeat a lesson from Lebanon, when there is some dramatic situation, when we are not only the poorest in Europe, as you say—but also when we are the most dangerous in Europe. We will receive this support only until such time as we rise to our feet and remain in this position.

Therefore, let us count, above all, on our own powers. The greatest reserve, the greatest possibilities—you said it yourself in Olivia—are rooted in the fact that we always must remember—I repeat your words, Mr Walesa—that we are trade unionists, but most of all, we are Poles. This also shines over our 4 years of work in the OPZZ, and the 5 years of work in the current activities of our trade unions. The issue is whether we really are the beggars of Europe. This is a very painful expression, which you often use.

Well, I must say that the beggar of Europe, who pays 2 billion zloties each year with difficulty, with a difficulty labored by the working people, is not in such a tragic situation, after all. We have this tragic situation and we have concepts that are not the best. I acquainted myself with your speech in DER SPIEGEL, and perhaps not too skilfully, but I will try to repeat what you had said there about our economy, about the rescue of our economy, that above all we need equality of all sectors, that we need free trade, that we should do everything to remove the manacles—the bureaucratic manacles—of tax regualtions, and at the same time that the bureaucratic manacles of the functioning of the economic and state apparatus should be broken. Please note when examining our concepts, what we called an economic alternative—which we announced last year—then it is, as it were, rewritten from our alternative. Can we say that it is already implemented? No. However, the auguries for this team, the team we have now, are favorable. And that is precisely what matters. I do not know to what extent we can speak of free trade.

Please note that, apart from all our troubles, the situation is as follows: More or less half of our citizens, of us here, the Poles, has money they do not know how to spend because there is nothing on which to spend it, while the other half finds it difficult to make ends meet. However, there are also hundreds of thousands of wheeler-dealers who are very much taking advantage of this poor situation of ours. Who are they? Are they those who produce? No, they are those who trade, who engage in profiteering, who are middle-men. So, indeed, the public is watching this and is concerned by this situation. So it is difficult to answer the question: To what extent should there be free trade?

As far as the situation of our nation is concerned, I would like to say—and I am sure you know about this—that both before and at Lodz we maintained that all actions that strive for pluralistic solutions in trade unions are acceptable on one condition: that there is one union to an enterprise. That is not because we are obstinate, but above all because this indeed is a strong trade union, because there really are 7 million of us. If we were to take away the labor veterans, there are six million and a bit more of us. It includes nearly 4.5 million former Solidarity members . I have the following suggestion: Since things are as they are, Mr Walesa, please join us, win democratic election because we consider that kind of pluralistic solution to be the most correct, as opposed to dividing the work forces. If we consider, if we have arguments that it is indeed possible to solve this another way, then let us go and travel around the West for a bit and see. You, Mr Walesa, have been to the West many times, and you know that there are different solutions. You, for example, have suggested a very interesting prospective solution, that there should be 20 trades.

The final issue: That is whether it really could have happened that our situations could have been reversed, so that Miodowicz would have been seeking the legalization of a second union. Indeed, that could have happened.

This could have happened if in 1982-83 your aktiv, Mr Walesa, your union, your members—to which I, too, belonged I have to say—had taken up energetic action for the re-establishment of this union. I think that its aspect today would have been quite different from the aspect of the union that had been.

You are upbraiding our authorities, saying that 44 years have been wasted. This is distressing and, I have to say, it is also understandable for all those people—especially the young ones—who are in a very difficult situation, for whom the prospect of getting an apartment is very distant. However, for me, who has lived here through all these years, I must say that it is very difficult to understand, for I note at the same time that it was enough to have a year of disturbances, just one year of disturbances, for us to end up with empty shelves. I do not suspect Solidarity of having done this, but I believe that this was a movement that was capable of controling the whole situation in 1981 in either direction—peace or disquiet—but everything got out of control. Taking this lesson into account, I believe that our premise of one union to an enterprise is very principled, and not just principled (?from the point of view) of our interests, but

also in giving a chance to a whole team of wise people, experienced activists, who are rallied around you. [applause, cut short immediately]

[Walesa] Good evening, ladies and gentlemen!

I am very glad of our meeting. To those who, for the last 7 years have not lost faith, I give my thanks.

One could, of course, set out a list of all the shortcomings, all the difficulties and problems. We could charge each other with responsibility for them. I think this is not the time for this sort of enumeration, but rather a time to give serious thought to the present situation and the causes leading to it.

In 1980, in 1981, in my view, the external conditions did not exist for the reforms Solidarity proposed, first and foremost—as I once said, perhaps not too seriously—because Brezhnev lived 2 years too long. On the other hand, it seems that such possibilities do exist today. On the other hand, it still seems that we are not grasping these possibilities today. On the other hand, it still seems that what we are doing is continuing to preserve the model, or the tail-end of the Stalinist model. The very fact of today's meeting, after all, speaks fairly clearly and simply: None of the demands or wishes on my part, of mine, none of my wishes was fulfilled. You, a member of the Central Committee, could afford the meeting that I sought for 7 years. You could dictate the conditions, whereas I was not able to set any conditions. I had to come here, in order not to get into an even more difficult situation, but I repeat: We are supposed to get a rapprochement. Trying to score points or quarrelling will get us nowhere. However, we are ready, as we and I have said many times—we are ready for great compromises. We are ready for great sacrifices, but there can be no overlooking the most important things. After all, it's no accident that all our countries have a similar situation. It's time, at last, to consider why. It is, in fact, because of the monopoly in political affairs, the monopoly in trade union affairs, the monopoly in economic affairs, the monopoly toward which you strive today, Mr Central Committee Secretary, oh, I beg your pardon...

[Miodowicz, interrupting] chairman...[laughs] [passage indistinct" both speaking and laughing at the same time]

[Walesa] Sir, your explanation in your strivings is that it's not time for pluralism, or what sort of pluralism? There is one trade union in one plant. Or, as I heard at your meetings, if there is one director and one party in a plant, then there is one trade union, too.

One could not invent anything more hilarious than this. Sir, of course, the premises of a work enterprise should not become a arena for political struggle. It ought to be depoliticized, both in work and in management. Here, for instance, I have officialdom in mind. What is needed are more serious decisions, and not just lists, which you do not want, either. The serious things we should sort out are this statement of ours, that pluralism in all affairs—economic, political, and, social—has passed the test in the world, in all countries in which it has been applied. If this is the case, then we should not debate if pluralism exists in Poland and if it will pass the test, as it already has proved its existence in the world. We should consider, on the other hand, how, in the situation in which we have found ourselves here in Poland, how systems can be introduced in Poland which have passed the test everywhere else in the world. In connection with this, our conversation should concern these subjects, these main subjects, and we ought to try to resolve these main subjects. You did not mention the issue of the roundtable, so I will. We were and are ready for the talks, as I have said, and for a compromise, but such statements as pluralism, on the one hand, and one trade union per enterprise, on the other, have shattered this concept.

We said both during the last wave of strikes and during the one before, and we continue to say: There is no freedom without Solidarity. Even if it is a small force, nevertheless it still does exist; it is in every work enterprise and it must be noticed in a proportional way. It must have the chance to realize its defensive and vital matters. That is why the failure to take note of all this is causing the very situation in which we find ourselves. If you, sir, wish to treat the understanding and the agreement seriously, then let us not discuss whether the Solidarity trade union is needed, but how it can be set in motion again, and because the transfer to pluralism can cause destruction and anarchy, let us think how it can be done so that these things do not occur. I think that should be enough by way of introduction.

[Tumanowicz] Thank you, very much.

[Miodowicz] Mr Walesa, you mentioned here the frequently raised slogan: There is no freedom without Solidarity. I want to say right away that I also know some other slogans, like the one about the leaves [reference to a slogan used during recent demonstrations: Communists will hang from the trees instead of leaves] and—I do not want to repeat it—about, let us say: Commies out. Admittedly, so far there is no such slogan as: Get the Jews, but these are the same kind of slogan. These are facts and they are frightening. Our society must have peace. I am not talking about blissful peace because we are not even beginning to approach that kind of peace, because there are many troubles—family troubles, troubles within the state, troubles at work, troubles everywhere—but at least public peace, secure welfare for our society.

I would like to note that our meeting is not taking place because I am on the Central Committee. That is not the notion you should be harboring here, Mr Walesa. It is because in the trade unions, above all in the OPZZ Council, there is the belief that if trade union matters should be debated by the working people, it should be those who work ahnd not those who never have lifted a finger inside a work enterprise. That is the reason for our

meeting. If there were no freedom in our country, then our meeting could not have taken place at all. I am convinced of this. That is why I regard this slogan as fine and delightful, but our very meeting today shows that there is freedom in our country, after all. I agree with you, that now there are conditions for serious reforms and changes in our country.

[Walesa] I am glad you said that there are conditions. I will put it even more strongly. History will judge us harshly if we do not take advantage of these conditions. We have a good climate in almost all countries of our system, especially in the Soviet Union. After all, over there they are going further in their reforms. After all, there they are truly doing what Solidarity has been fighting for, both then and now. That is why we should not hamper perestroyka, but in our country, after all, after the experiences we have had on both sides, we should move further, we should meet all these aspirations, especially those of the young people, half way. If we do not do this—and we are not going to do it if we continue to rule through privileges, after all, our meeting is also a privilege, since if I had requested it I would never have made it to this table, but seeing as it was you who asked, here we are today. That is good. [Miodowicz tries to interrupt, but is not allowed to speak] Sir, very well. Since there are so many things that should be spoken of today, I propose—if you...

[Miodowicz, interrupting] Sir, if you are serious about talking...

[Walesa, interrupting] Then I propose that we should—after all this is our television—I propose that we should organize meetings with experts on both sides during, I do not know, the next 5 or 6 weeks, consecutively, just like the meeting we are having today. Let them discuss all those matters that should be dealt with as quickly as possible because just one meeting.... Well, we have such bad memories and such painful experiences that it would be difficult for us to believe that things could change so much from one day to the next that I may not worry about my situation at a time when I have not received any surety for our appearance here. So it would be a good thing if things were to happen seriously in Poland, if the rights of the individual were respected. This would be great, but before this comes about I propose that you think over this proposal of mine that we should continue, each week, for a month or two, such live meetings, but expert ones that would take us a bit further. For after we have talked here... Well, we will talk and then go home, and life will continue to be just as difficult and no problem will have been solved. You mentioned the young people, Sir. Well, Sir, there are many matters of a more general application. For example, we do not know how much we are paying for the ZOMOS [riot police]. For example, we do not know how much money we are giving for the Army. Of course, this is a secret today. I am not saying all this spitefully—let us be quite clear about this—but the society of which we are a part would like to know. We do not know, for example, how many coupons are being given out at the moment, and yet they are being given out. That is why we should discuss all these matters, not as if it were a privilege, but in the name of, well, why not say it: in the name of justice, of the future. Let us learn to govern by law, to have legal sureties. I do not want to be called up, to be invited on the basis of an invitation that is valid today and not tomorrow. I want to be treated as the delegate of a work force, as the one delegated by the work force, and not as a private person, as is the case today.

So, of course, Sir, further to our meeting today: No good will come of it except, perhaps, that for the first time Poland will see Walesa, will see that we are trying to come to some kind of understanding [dogadac]. This is a great achievement.

I repeat: It is necessary to take up general issues quickly. The general issues are: Pluralism, let us not be afraid of pluralism, let the authorities be not afraid of their own people because people will understand if they are informed straight forwardly; our really bad system of management, the end of the Stalinist era, which persists in certain things. It has to be changed; we will change it. However, these changes will have to be carried out, I repeat, openly, and not only in words, as there is a lot of talk in Poland, and we talk nicely here, and one could say, even in a demagogic way. And after our talk, once again nothing will be left. However, I propose that something should remain; I propose to arrange further meetings in which our initial emotions will fall. They should be live, then we will talk further about what to do for the Polish youth, what to do for the situation we have, how to help, how to have more solidarity in these difficulties, and how to take advantage of the chance history and the situation have given us.

[Miodowicz] Thank you, very much. I confirm this opinion that out of any conversation, even the most absorbing one in front of television viewers, nothing real, nothing material, can emerge, the more so as our meeting is a unique one. I saw you in Nowa Huta, but we never talked. Although trade union issues, issues concerning working people—let us say—are close to my heart, and insofar as I know your statements, they are close to your heart, too. As far as the issue of privileges is concerned, then all trade unions are of the opinion that these privileges have been limited to a considerable degree and we now feel that the present government team will further limit all privileges in a fundamental way. However, among the unreal privileges are very serious ones that are enjoyed, for instance, by the miners, and I presume there is no question of these privileges because we will have to keep these privileges, will we not? Surely we understand. Therefore, the issue is of coupons [a kind of ration card necessary for the purchase of a car at the normal price], and such, let us say, other matters. Of course, I heard, I welcomed an announcement that these things will be limited and will be abolished, although it really is a serious decision. Trade unions are in favor of this.

[Miodowicz] As for our meetings, I think we should, however, continue the talks, I had no very direct involvement in this talk on the subject of the roundtable. True, the table is not there anymore, for the time being. However, it seems that it can always be assembled, put in place, and people can sit down at it, as they say, without preconditions. So, the success of our meeting is that nobody laid down preconditions. We sat down here, without any initial pushing and shoving, after all, and the television gave us 45 minutes. I am grateful to the television for that because there were no great pressures on my part here, either. However, I propose that this be continued within the roundtable framework.

[Walesa] Sir, there are two philosophies of approach to the roundtable. One is this: Let us sit down without preconditions, let us talk. Sir, if we had had different experiences, this would have been accepted. But we have had experiences with the church's Agricultural Foundation. We have been talking for 5 years, 5 years, and nothing has come of it. I have not the time nor the desire and I do not want to decieve the public, that something is being done and nothing will be done. There is no time for that.

In view of that, I made a different proposal: First, let us bring about meetings of experts in various fields—economic, social, and political. In these teams of experts, augmented by practicians, let us work out solutions—but before that, let us say what I said here today: Pluralism is vital in Poland. Those teams will in some way get Poland out of this difficult, terrible situation, to a pluralism which will stand the practical test. This will be the role of the teams and if they prepare something good, interesting things, then neither Mr Miodowicz nor Mr Walesa will hold back those people who are eager to implement them. And (?if they do not), then neither Mr Miodowicz nor Mr Walesa will drive the people to become involved in them because they simply will not be attractive. This concept has collapsed. A concept is being forced through today which has no chance, given these experiences, which talks about shamming, about a method of deceiving, which, after those experiences, can bode no good. And at the same time, there is no declared answer to what is trade union pluralism and what is Solidarity. Today, you say that this is possible. Sir, I am very pleased. It is we, not the government, it is we who should say that this is vital, for the realities say so, in every plant.

In spite of everything, even the strikes tell us something: That dissatisfaction is growing and will at some time explode. Consequently, this dissatisfaction should be given a different outlet, that is, the solution of these problems. And if so, then, if we find that within pluralism there is room for Solidarity—a different one from what it was in 1980, because it has to be different, both in terms of its cadres and its program, although we have also said that it was not our fault that that was how it ended, that reform did not have the external climate for its realization—after all these experiences and the need, it has a chance, people need it, and then the roundtable has a chance and the roundtable will indeed bring solutions worthy of the era in which we live. [sentence as heard]

No, let us not take part in any others because we have destroyed so many fine things, we have destroyed so many fine slogans, that it is high time not to destroy anymore. It is time for work. We can do it, and we have the conditions. That is why I agreed to everything, to withdraw completely my wishes in order to meet you. And not only that. I said earlier that we are going to quarrel but the ending has to speak about accord. I said to you even as we were coming in here that I would not forgive you for many things. And I still have not. But we have to come to accord. Poland needs accord in order to realize the young people's hopes. Young people are running away from us—it is a disgrace—educated young people. I said that we are the beggers of Europe and the world. That is true, but that is just one part of the problem. The fact that we are slowing down the development of Europe and the world is another part of it. And that is not only our concern. After all, we are not using the achievements of Europe appropriately to our size, that of a middle-sized country.

Are we not up to it? We are up to it. Poles have potential, but they are badly governed. The Stalinist era has not passed yet. It is we, the trade unionists, you and I—I must say—who have to put an end to the Stalinist era, before...[sentence incomplete as heard] Where did Stalin come from? He came because there was no political pluralism. It was we who built Stalin; all of us, at that time. There were no controlling organizations, no pluralism, and he runs through all this right up to the present day. If we do not enter onto the road of pluralism quickly, which will indeed solve all the matters because it will not be whether you let someone or some group earn Z50 more; it is not that. [sentence as heard] People should be taking for themselves. Neither I nor Solidarity are saying that we are going to give something to someone. No, we will create conditions for taking, for earning, and for the defense of these interests. Pluralism guarantees this. On the other hand, and I am returning to it once again, the work enterprises cannot be an arena for political struggle, but Sir, our people and our society are educated. If they hear that the trade union chairman—you, I have you in mind—is in the Central Committee Politburo, that 90 pecent of your cadres are party members, is this not then a political trade union? I do not envy (?you). This is good. We wish you and your trade union well; we want it to be a strong union, but you, on the other hand, are refusing us the right to exist. What kind of democracy is this? Let us agree together how not to be destructive. That is all right. Let us agree so that there can be the fewest possible number of strikes. OK. Let us establish barriers, both legal and organizational. This is possible. This is possible for such issues as wage demands and strikes so that agreement can be reached only by unions jointly. Then the most important things are sorted out.

It is, therefore, a question of agreeing on how, and not whether, we are to exist. If you make a manly decision, that there is a place for Solidarity, a place for pluralism, then Sir, we all will roll up our sleeves immediately and get down to work with all of Poland, because time is running out; young people are running away; and the people are living—the labor veterans, the people who fought for other solutions and I still am fighting, whereas I could retire [usiasc na pieleszach] as I can afford it, but I am not doing so, in the name of our parents' past [word indistinct] and the future of my children. And I will continue to fight. It does not matter what comes out of it; I will fight for Solidarity because Poland needs Solidarity—Solidarity in trouble, Solidarity at work, Solidarity in lifting Poland up. And if you help with this, then the roundtable will be beautiful—not the table described by the premier as the well-supplied table. I do not know. We do not see it at the moment. We want to supply it, but together. Together we can supply it.

On the other hand, the old style, the old cures, returning to the monopoly, are not good omens for anything. Really, we do not have the strength or the means to take part in such things.

[Miodowicz] Mr Walesa, there is a fundamental difference between words and actions here. I happen to have a very painful experience of the divisions within work forces. Once again, I confirm that the introduction in the shipyard, for example, of a postulate for the relegalization of Solidarity as the main postulate and for the retention of people in work truly is not beneficial. It is something I cannot understand and which creates bad conditions for what is to happen in the future.

That is why it would seem that we really should come to an understanding. For after all, is union pluralism the only solution to all Polish problems? You yourself know it is not the only one. Yes, indeed, not the only one because how many do we have? The chances are tremendous; the chances lie in our Sejm, in the elections to that Sejm, and also in the party in the transformations that are taking place in the party and will continue to take place under this democratization. The chances lie in that we should really talk, that experts should talk on both sides. However, the greatest chance—which you yourself Sir, mentioned—lies within the little gray cells of our people, in our intelligence which truly is not being utilized to its full extent and is not fully satisfied. However, all this can be reached through negotiations and talks, but pluralism is not the only method of solving Polish problems. It is not the only method because there has been pluralism before, and I am grieved to say that the one we had did not pass the test [nie sprawdzil sie]. It fills me with gladness to hear you say that the Solidarity that would exist now would be different from what it was in 1980. I share the view that this could be so. [time signal sounds]

[Walesa] Well, Sir, if we are talking of pluralism, we are talking about three areas: about economic subjects, about social matters—meaning trade unions and about political matters. If we are to move things forward in Poland, we need two pluralisms at least: an economic pluralism and a social pluralism. The economic one means that all the sectors would be treated in an even-handed manner, that all models in the world (?of) economy checked out, and that there should be no obstacle to their being introduced. These new economic models will need to be protected. Let them have the opportunity to defend themselves. That is what this most necessary pluralism means.

Sir, you say... You spoke about the shipyard. Sir, the shipyard maintains that decision, that is, what I said on the subject of the shipyard. In my opinion, this decision about the shipyard is 65 percent political 10 percent economic, and as for the rest, the premier wanted to show that he will be strong that he will not allow any... that he will even dissolve the Lenin shipyard. We do not deny that reforms must be made. We say that reforms are necessary and that the shipyard must alter its profile and be more efficient but it has to be given a chance. There are many offers and this must be taken advantage of. On the other hand, to announce such a decision—nobody knows where it came from—well, let us first of all decide on the key or the outline of how we are going to approach plants. If there is this key or outline, then we will present it and nobody will have any doubts. However, if we keep popping up with irrelevant ideas then we will have these problems afterward.

The shipyard has shown, even after all this, that it is pluralist, that even jointly with the state trade union and others we are capable of making joint decisions when it is necessary to fight for really fundamental interests. Afterward, when those interests were no longer so clear, we divided again, but we showed that it was possible [word indistinct].

Sir, do not be afraid of pluralism: Pluralism is necessary. On the other hand being afraid of pluralism is not the point. The point is how to erect legal, cadre, organizational, and mediatory barriers, (?to) the final destruction...and somekind of losses, which are not necessary under any circumstances in our country. [sentence as heard] This sir, is possible; therefore I profoundly believe that we have to reach agreement and that these ideals must be victorious because Sir, this does not result from the ambitions of Walesa or of Solidarity. What we are talking about is results from computers. This system, the tail-end of Stalinism cannot be maintained because computers, (?what) do they give us? Multiple variants; the best most convenient solutions; the most apt decisions; multiple variants....

[Miodowicz, interrupts] Mr Walesa, you see that we are going in this direction...

[Walesa interrupts] But, sir...

[Miodowicz interrupts] In spite of the lack of pluralism, we are going in that direction...

[Walesa Interrupts] Sir, you may be going, but do you know what I would call it: You are going on foot, one foot after the other, and the world is going by car. If you go on like this, then we will have the results in 200 years' time...

[Miodowicz interrupts] But we will get into the car, we will get in.

[Walesa] Not in our time, if we go on like this; no, sir! (Miodowicz keeps repeating "we'll get in, we'll get in") We can say today: Poland can afford to speed up...

[Miodowicz interrupts] Yes, indeed, that is the point.

[Walesa] But if you have the monopoly and I haven't the right to live, then, sorry, I will not take part in (?that), for you don't give me the right to—but I give you the right. [words indistinct]

[Miodowicz interrupts] But we can always come to agreement...

[Walesa interrupts] And you (?would) order me to go down on my knees to you and I don't want to. I want to be myself. And our people say the same thing: We want to be ourselves; [words indistinct] but ourselves. Young people want to be themselves: Let us give them the right. The shipyard wants to be itself: Let us give it the right. Let us curtail it only to avoid destruction, restraint, and damage.

Sir, we will fight for this and get it, whether you or I like it or not, because these are the challenges of the era we live in. The only thing is, that they will judge us for having wasted time; that we are making ourselves a laughing-stock; that we can't talk to each other and get agreement. These are losses which we are bearing unnecessarily and therefore we have to get down to it as quickly as possible. But if you think that only you have the monopoly and I have no right—well, then, there is no chance (?of winning).

[Miodowicz] Mr Walesa, the very fact that we came to the conclusion that today's talk should take place, the very fact that we are sitting here proves that we are trying to convince each other through arguments, through arguments. I understand that each of us holds to his own view at the moment. It would be surprising if one conversation broke down all barriers. I believe that our concept of one union to one enterprise is, for us, extremely important. I believe that your concept: Let us introduce Solidarity, is, for you, extremely binding. I believe that we should borrow the experiences of other countries and, say, go forward, go forward!

[Walesa interrupts] One council in one (?enterprise)....

[Miodowicz interrupts] Go forward! I have heard of this concept but we must take a look at how it works in the West German DGB, for example, and in other countries. For there are many ways of solving these matters. So, we have also said that [word indistinct] when we have a congress—in 2 years time—we shall have to shape the model of Polish trade unions in such a way that the young people of which you speak will be able to find a place for themselves there, a model. We do not take a stand in this matter at present. We are searching. Well, perhaps we should look abroad. Perhaps we should see how it looks.

[Walesa] Sir, truly the whole matter rests on freedom, and freedom of association is also your responsibility, Sir, to help with this freedom of association and not to forbid anybody. And that is why you should think over what we have said here. If we want...[changes thought] If you are seriously thinking of Poland, if you want to help it, then this can only be done through the (?creation) of freedom—but freedom which does not turn into anarchy.

[Miodowicz] But, but Mr Walesa you do understand that in our circumstances, given the very impulsive Polish nature, given the intellectual strength of many Poles—and a physical strength, too—diversity has to be in unity—because if there is no diversity in unity we shall break into bits, dismember (?ourselves), no?

[Walesa] Let us not make people happy [by force]. Let's just give them freedom.

[Miodowicz] Yes, Yes.

[Walesa] Sir, what are the Hungarians doing? Take a look, Sir, how far- reaching the changes are. They are creating new parties. Things of which we are not even speaking. And we are marking time and we had the greatest experience, best prepared for changes.

[Miodowicz] Do you not see, really, Mr Walesa, considerable changes for the better, as far as the structures are concerned? And especially as far as democratization is concerned?

[Walesa] Yes, I do see them. But we are going step by step, on foot, and people are driving in cars.

[Miodowicz] I said that we would get into these cars.

[Walesa] And if we get into them, I have your word, I hope we will, I hope we take people with us, because we are for them. Yes.

[Miodowicz] So what, let's thank our viewers, Mr Walesa. Thank you very much. We wish you good night. Thank you.

[Walesa] Thank you.

Debate Favorably Assessed

LD0112001488 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2305 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Marek Lewicki commentary]

[Text] Certainly an event of the past day which is still being discussed in many Polish homes was the meeting with Lech Walesa in a television studio, organized on the initiative of Alfred Miodowicz. As we no doubt recall this was preceeded by several conditions of a technical character made by the Solidarity side. These were an expression of the distrust felt toward the television network which was hosting the meeting.

Fortunately, however, realism and goodwill came to the fore, and as we have seen, conditions were created for a businesslike live transmission with equal rights for the views and arguments of both interlocutors. I think that the very fact that this discussion has taken place has enormous significance since—in one fell swoop, several taboos were overturned and the conclusions which can be drawn for the future show that one can speak publicly about anything and that no preconditions are necessary.

Of course taking the first step demanded—from both participants in the meeting—the courage to publicly confront their views with views that were different, and this under conditions when it was not known what the other person would say. That is surely why, at the beginning of the discussion, both chairmen, the one from the OPZZ and the one of the former Solidarity, were fairly tense. This must also partly have been occasioned by the atmosphere peculiar to a television studio and the knowledge that millions of people were sitting in front of their television sets—curious to hear what they had to say and how they would say it.

Later both of them visibly relaxed, the conversation took on more speed, and their arguments became more precise. Two concepts for the development of Poland, for the economy and for the trade unions were put forward. The understandable differences proceeded from the different political stands and different philosophies of action.

It turned out that it is possible to do such a thing this way and that no harm comes out of this. This is an important argument which proves that, in our country, there is both a need and a chance for true dialogue. It is a good thing that this first step took place in an atmosphere of mutual respect and visible efforts not to quarrel, although each of them stood firm as far as the line they represented was concerned.

Were there any points of concurrence in what both debaters said? I think there were. Firstly, that the trade union movement should not divide workforces nor lead to confrontations or provocative behavior. Second, that defending the interests of the workers is not just formulating demands like give it now, but also means looking for ways leading to a rise in production and increased economic affectiveness. Third, that coexistence is possible; and Lech Walesa even used the example of the Gdansk shipyard to prove that cooperation is possible.

The key problem today was also tackled: Looking for ways of approach to a pluralist model. Personally, I felt the lack in this conversation of threads like, for example, how to keep wage demands within limits which can be met by a weak economy. Or how to reconcile demands for legalization with maintaining illegal structures and undertaking activities which infringe the law or—a no less sensitive matter—some activists' links with political currents in the West hostile to Poland?

I think, however, that the proposals to organize meetings of experts or joint study of the experiences of the trade union movement in other countries outlined the direction of practical steps toward rapprochement—and not a kind which will throw one side or the other to its knees, but of a kind which will help find the technology of an approach to compromise, taking the interests of both sides into account.

Cooperation With Opposition Viewed

AU2211112488 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Nov 88 p 3

[Waldemar Mickiewicz and Jerzy Sieradzinski article: "Polish Crossroads—Questions, Problems, Dangers"]

[Text] States facing a crisis and great reforms are always in a risky situation and never know what may happen next. Such situations produce not only political orientations that see only dangers in proposed changes, but also "radical" reformers who see no dangers at all. The former are accused of cowardice and conservatism, and the latter of being unrealistic and even adventurous. The true struggle for Poland's reforms is continuing in the space between these two extremes and not between these extremes themselves.

History has proven that at times crises release tremendous development forces and produce extremely capable individuals. There have even been times when the more appalling crises triggered the more positive social energy.

But history also shows that as a result of internal crises and divisions, innumerable states have completely disintegrated instead of developing by leaps and bounds. Such states have become completely defenseless vis-a-vis the world and the future.

Unfortunately, Polish history cannot be viewed with optimism, because we have not always been able to choose the right road when the country came to a crossroads. And even when we have been able to choose the right road, we have usually been unable to follow such a road to the end, because we have lacked the necessary strength and wisdom. The reign of King Stanislaw August is the most tragic illustration of this. His

reign produced the 3 May Constitution [1791], a truly great achievement, but we had only enough strength to decree important reforms, and not to defend them against internal and external enemies.

Today we have again reached a crossroads when we are again trying to radicalize our reforms. Have we amassed enough strength to get our state through the period of reforms and to ensure that the reforms produce material and technological results and progress in civilization?

Such questions continue to multiply, because the value of all our reforms is measured by the ability to boost the strength of our state and the prosperity of our people. Without such results, reforms are a gigantic but useless social and technical measure.

As we tried to demonstrate in our articles published in TRYBUNA LUDU issues 237,238, and 249, mustering the internal potential in order to reform the economy is not easy. We tried to show how limited the room for maneuver is in this regard, but this is no reason to suppose that we have become stuck in a blind alley.

External conditions are now incomparably more favorable than when we began to implement our reforms years ago. W. Jaruzelski has repeated many times: "As never before, today we have the conditions to organize our domestic life in such a way as to make it suit our expectations and opportunities."

Soviet perestroyka, the great changes in the socialist countries, and the favorable East-West relations continue to create external conditions for us. All this makes bold experiments and vigorous measures possible under conditions of peace, autonomy, and sovereignty and not under conditions of international tensions.

That is why domestic conditions are now the most important. The fact that they determine our fate has been conceded by all of us from the extreme left to to the extreme right. But it is not certain whether all of us will support our activities. We still do not know whether certain political forces in our country will utilize the favorable political conditions in order to promote domestic consolidation so that genuine changes can be carried out, or whether they will use these conditions in order to play our their own game, without at all caring whether this will produce normalization or the exact opposite.

The governing coalition has made an unprecedented offer to reform the country and to cooperate in this task with various political forces. Do those concerned interpret this offer as an opportunity to wisely organize our common home or as proof of the system's weakness—that is, as a signal to begin a new round of the struggle to overthrow socialism in Poland?

Such questions are justified, because our political opposition has not put forward its own program as yet. The simple fact is that the only existing program is that drawn up by the authorities as a basis of roundtable talks. Opposition politicians continue to lament the fact that they have made the error of not putting forward their own program, although they are trying to explain that they needed no other program than the "no" program, because they did not think there was any chance for them to share in government.

The governing coalition's program, which covers the most extensive interests of various groups and orientations, is the only document mapping out the nature of economic and political reforms. It is hard not to recognize it as a great trump card for the forces that favor true reforms.

If we reject those who want to reinstate capitalism and bourgeois democracy and those who advocate conditions as they were before August 1980—that is, if we reject the champions of opposing political illusions—we will acquire certain room for dialogue and possible cooperation. This room is big enough to try to jointly create a new quality of our political and economic life. This room offers enormous choices and opportunities for giving Polish socialism a new shape.

Since we keep asking what various values really represent, we are entitled to ask about the real value of the opposition. All throughout the postwar period the authorities have avoided asking open questions about the contribution that the opposition might make toward the government of the socialist state. Although these questions are still heresy to some people, party members continue to ask them with increasing frequency and to give various answers to them.

In the face of great changes, every escape from facile formulas and dogmas is justified, may be creative, and may open up new horizons. The question of what the opposition can contribute to government must now be answered by the authorities, which proposed national accord and roundtable talks and offered government positions to prominent representatives of the opposition, which, on its part, must tell us what it can offer to the country and what it is worth to the state.

The opposition is entitled to seek a share in the government, but it has no right to do so at the expense of the state and people, because no one can waste or undermine overriding values of the state and people. This principle continues to be most resolutely observed by the states with age-long political culture. A youth press journalist recalled this truth not so long ago when he wrote that the opposition has its worth only if, as is the case with the FRG, a politician from the governing party goes to Washington and a representative of the opposition discusses the same issues in Moscow, at the same time. That journalist asked whether we are able to view the interests

of our own state in such a way and whether our "oppositionists" who travel to Western capitals take care of the issues of our country or try to "trip" and destroy their competitors. Unfortunately, there are just too many things to show that this second attitude of the opposition is the rule in our present disputes and that political and economic costs in this connection play no role.

Nevertheless, we continue to take the view that the opposition can enrich the present mode of government and make it more effective by watching every step the government makes like a hawk, by sharing in governing the country, and by taking a certain measure of responsibility for decisions. The opposition can also provide more room for maneuver for the state so that it can not only survive, but also blossom under the changing political-economic conditions of the modern world. But is the opposition ready to play such a role in the state? Does it so conceive its mission? It seems that a positive answer to these questions depends to a decisive extent on the quality rather than on the form of the opposition's legal or illegal activities.

Let us find out how difficulties with the opposition have been solved in our history. Between the introduction of free elections and Poland's partitions as many as 53 Sejm sessions were broken off, the ratio of such actions increasing from 28 percent in the first years of the 17th century to 60 percent in mid-18th century and to 100 percent during the reign of August III. So many opportunities to settle the problems of the weakening country were wasted! It was not only families such as Potocki, Sapieha, and Lubomirski that were responsible for that state of affairs, but primarily their patrons in the shape of the courts in Berlin, Petersburg, and Versailles, which bribed state dignitaries and Sejm deputies. Wladyslaw Kopczynski drew up those tragic statistics many years ago.

Were any other words than "Polish freedom" pronounced in those days? Were the "oppositionists" in those days mindful of the fatherland or of their own positions when they colluded with alien forces? What political advantage did they bring to Poland from their travels to foreign courts, except highfalutin declarations? Have we learned nothing from history?

Aversion and hostility to whatever exists in our country is not enough to change our life for the better. The readiness of segments of the extreme opposition to fight every circumstance and, especially, the system that does not enable them to take over complete rule, bodes nothing good for the state and for the people.

From the beginning of the eighties our country has embarked upon a completely unknown road in order to thoroughly refurbish its economy and to reform the system of government. When we began that cause, only the cleverest people realized that we embarked upon an unknown trail.

Building the socialist state on new principles instead of repeating old models of the capitalist system, which is still the favorite pet of the champions of the capitalist "cure for Poland," requires a great internal mobilization—so great a mobilization, independent ideas, and courage that it is now proper to ask questions about fundamental values for Poland such as the state, the opposition, and the construction of something that the history of social systems has never known.

What will the crossroads we have now reached be like? Will it be groping along some highways? Or will it be a determined march along the chosen road, which is still full of dangers, but which has already supplied us with some trump cards? What will we be able to achieve quickly and what not so quickly? These are the questions we have tried to answer in this series of articles. We have indicated our chances, without concealing the fact that we have no guarantees whatsoever that this time we will be able to use our chances. The immediate future will show whether our views have been too optimistic or perhaps "pessimistic" in the long run. It will show whether roundtable talks will materialize and whether they will produce the internal strength our state needs so much or whether they will increase and aggravate the divisions for which we all continue to pay such a high price.

RFE Interviews Solidarity Brussels Officials

LD2111232088 Warsaw PAP in English
1919 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 21—The interview with Joanna Pilarska and Jerzy Milewski about the activities of the foreign bureau of "Solidarnosc" in Brussels aired by Radio Free Europe November 20, carries interesting—and probably not always intended—information.

And so, they consider the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the World Labour Confederation to be "the only two democratic trade union confederations." Why (Q). [as received] They reply themselves—both these organizations simply finance the greater part of the Brussels office's operations and those of its representatives in several Western states. That is why other, more significant structures of the trade union movement in the world are less democratic...

Milewski says that "people displaying zeal for voluntary work" cooperate with the bureau. They are usually ...young holders of scholarships of various foundations—as he holds—"born outside Poland, for whom English and French are their native tongues. "What in the world do they have in common with Polish reality (Q).

Milewski concedes that finding such people requires considerable effort. No wonder.

The interlocutor of Radio Free Europe considers it a success that his bureau simply exists.

Need one anything more to arrive at "democracy" for foreign money and "pseudo-voluntary work" (Q). [sentence as received]

CSSR Customs Procedures Criticized

AU2411144588 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Nov 88 p 2

[PAP report: "Statement by Foreign Ministry Press Spokesman on CSSR Customs Officials Treatment of Polish Citizens"]

[Text] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs reports that Polish citizens are continuing to experience serious problems during customs clearance at the Polish-Czechoslovak border. The reason for this is the Czechoslovak side's decision to introduce new customs regulations severely limiting the quantities of goods that can be taken out of the country on 15 November. The Polish side was not informed about this move until 14 November.

The CSSR customs authorities have not taken steps to ensure that customs controls at the Polish border operate smoothly. This has caused problems for cross-border traffic: Trains are subject to delays of several hours and people traveling by road are experiencing complications in Poland. Although Polish regulations also impose restrictions on certain goods being taken out of the country, customs clearance procedures have not had the same negative effects for the Czechoslovak side.

In view of this situation, Peter Hlavacek, the head of the consular section at the CSSR Embassy in Warsaw, was summoned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Consular Department on 21 November. It was pointed out to him that the treatment of Polish citizens by CSSR customs officials is incomprehensible.

The ministry demanded that the Czechoslovak side reorganize customs clearance procedures so that Polish citizens cease to experience such serious difficulties.

Foreign Minister's Statement After Pact Meeting

AU0411122088 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Nov 88 p 1

[Statement by Tadeusz Olechowski, PPR minister of foreign affairs, to Ludwik Loos, TRYBUNA LUDU's correspondent in Budapest, in Budapest on 29 October]

[Text] Speaking to TRYBUNA LUDU's correspondent at the end of the Budapest meeting of the Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers Committee, Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski said: "There is no doubt that what lies at the bottom of our peace offensive—and I think this also applies to our NATO partners—is the awareness that reducing arms in Europe, which has the highest concentration of various weapons anywhere in the world, can yield enormous savings.

"Achieving this would also be of enormous significance in terms of being able to use these resources for much more constructive, productive purposes. New prospects are taking shape in Europe. An important agreement was recently reached. After many years of refusing to recognize each other, the EEC and CEMA signed a joint declaration. Currently—I am thinking of individual CEMA countries—we are conducting bilateral negotiations with the EEC on developing new economic and trade relations. We need to make a greater effort and come up with new, attractive proposals so that our partners see that it makes sense to maintain and develop contacts with us. I think that all this means that new opportunities are coming into being on our continent."

Iraqi President Receives Kiszczak

LD1711052088 Warsaw PAP in English 1733 GMT 16 Nov 88

[Text] Baghdad, Nov. 16—Member of the PUWP CC Political Bureau and Poland's Internal Minister Gen. Czeslaw Kiszczak, now on a visit to Baghdad, was received Tuesday by Iraqi President and Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council Saddam Husayn.

In the talk, they positively assessed the state and prospects of development of bilateral relations.

Reform Commission Views Foreign Currency Issues

AU2211154188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19-20 Nov 88 p 2

[Report by Krystyna Sonntag: "Loosening the Reins—Counting on Enterprise"]

[Excerpts] How can initiative and enterprises be developed when the current system for plant foreign currency self-financing lacks cohesion? The need to introduce changes in this area has become a matter of some urgency. New regulations are needed that would make it possible to expand foreign currency self-financing and develop a foreign currency market. Without these things, there can be no question of catching up with the rest of the world and boosting exports that generate profits, in short, of achieving economic growth.

These questions were the subject of Friday's meeting of the eighth working group of the Commission for Economic Reform Affairs, which was chaired by Stanislaw Dlugosz. Proposals for new solutions have been put forward because the defects of the current system are patently obvious and the need for change is so pressing. According to the new regulations, which will come into force on 1 January 1989, instead of buying back the foreign currency earned from their exports from banks, enterprises will have the right to own these funds on the condition that they sell part of their foreign currency earnings to banks. This will not only simplify the procedures involved in foreign currency transactions, but will

also strengthen enterprise autonomy, because enterprises will own convertible currency and clearing transaction earnings obtained through exports for the very first time. [passage omitted]

Steps will also be taken to develop a uniform foreign currency market. The operation of a market of this type would mean that all Polish legal persons would be able to obtain foreign currency at the prevailing market rate. What does this mean in practice? It means that foreign currency purchases would depend not on quotas fixed by the state, but on an enterprise's performance. This already represents a move toward concrete changes in the economic structure. [passage omitted]

The proposed changes prompted a lot of favorable responses, as well as a fair amount of controversy. Some people feared that they might trigger negative economic processes, that they might, for example, increase inflation. We also do not know whether this greater freedom in the foreign trade field really will call forth a great number of new companies specializing in exports. Reservations were also expressed about excessive haste in "loosening the reins" with respect to foreign currency transactions, and attention was drawn to the fact that neither enterprises or banks are ready for this. However, it is also true to say that a large number of those taking part in the discussion welcomed the new proposals as marking a departure from the current outdated system, which checks the development of enterprise.

RCP Plenary Meeting Winds Down, Concludes

Speeches, Debates Continue

AU2911195588 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1832 GMT 29 Nov 88

["Joint Works of the CC of the RCP's Plenary Meeting, Bodies of Revolutionary Worker Democracy and Mass and Public Organizations"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 29/11/1988—Under the chairmanship of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the socialist Republic of Romania, the joint works of the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the RCP, bodies of revolutionary worker democracy and mass and public organizations, continued on November 29.

The first part of the morning session was chaired by Manea Manescu, member of the executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, vice-president of the State Council.

During the debates in plenum on the problems in the agenda, the following took the floor: Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, Prime Minister; Constantin Radu, alternate member of the executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first secretary of the Bucharest City RCP Committee; Stefan Andrei, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, deputy prime minister; Iosif Szasz, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first secretary of Caras-Severin County RCP Committee; Miu Dobrescu, member of the Executive Committee of Industrial and Farm Units.

Next, the works were chaired by Gheorghe Oprea, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first deputy prime minister.

Taking the floor were Elena Ceausescu, member of the executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first deputy prime minister, chairman of the National Council of Science and Education; Ioan Toma, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first secretary of the CC of the UCY [Union of Communist Youth]; Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP; Emil Bobu, member of the Executive Political Committee, Secretary of the CC of the RCP, other participants.

The participants in the debates in plenum were highly appreciative of president Nicolae Ceausescu's exposition—a document of exceptional importance for the life of the party and the country—and fully agreed to adopting this document of inestimable theoretical and practical value, as a programme of work and revolutionary action of the party, of the whole party, underlying the entire activity of preparing and holding the 14th RCP Congress next year, the 1991-1995 five-year plan and socialist Romania's development programme until the year 2000.

The speakers stressed the importance of the plans and programmes in the agenda which are in accordance with the 13th Congress resolutions and of the Party National Conference and provide for the continual rise in the production forces, the intensive development of industry, agriculture, the entire economy, other sectors and domains of activity, the continual growth of the national wealth and hence the rise in the Romanian people's material and spiritual welfare.

The joint works of the plenary meeting of the CC of the RCP, bodies of revolutionary worker democracy and mass and public organizations continue.

New Secretary Elected

AU3011192088 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1916 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 30/11/1988—A plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party took place under the chairmanship of Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary, in the morning of November 30.

The agenda of the plenary meeting included organizational matters.

The plenum decided the release of Ion Radu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, from the office of secretary of the party's CC, in connection with his taking up other assignments.

The plenum elected Ion Sirbu to the office of secretary of the CC of the RCP.

Ceausescu Delivers Closing Speech

AU3011110288 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1010 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Speech by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu at conclusion of joint plenary meeting of the RCP Central Committee and "other bodies of revolutionary workers," in Bucharest on 30 November—live]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, the joint meeting of the RCP plenum and of the leaderships of democratic bodies and mass and public organizations is a high forum of the revolutionary workers democracy, in which the aktiv and basic cadres of the party and all sectors of activity have discussed the most important problems of the socialist construction in our fatherland and unanimously adopted decisions on improving the management of the

entire activity, with a view to unflinchingly implementing the party program for building the comprehensively developed socialist society and ensuring our fatherland's firm march forward toward communism. [cheers, chants]

The proceedings of this high democratic forum were attended by more than 4,300 party-state activists from all sectors. Some 342 participants took the floor in the plenary meeting and in the councils of the democratic bodies; in a critical and self-critical spirit, they examined the activity of various sectors, advanced hundreds of proposals, and spoke out for improving the activity of all party, state, and revolutionary workers democracy bodies, in accordance with the new requirements of socialist construction in Romania. [cheers,chants]

Therefore, we can say that this great democratic forum, consisting of the basic cadres of our party, state, democratic bodies, and mass organizations, has turned into a true national conference which concludes, in full unanimity, the broad discussions conducted within the party and the entire society on the current stage of the Romanian socialist society and on the future prospects of our fatherland's development along the road of socialism and the golden dream, communism. [cheers, chants]

The proceedings of this great democratic forum are an expression of the dialectical unity between the party leadership and other state organs, democratic bodies, and mass organizations; this meeting sums up, in a new form, the party's leading role in all sectors and in our entire society. [cheers, chants]

The full unanimity which characterized our discussions and the adoption of our decisions and documents, actually reflects the unanimous nature of discussions conducted within the entire party and society as well as the unanimity with which the whole party and nation are unswervingly applying and implementing our party's domestic and foreign policy. [cheers, chants]

Now, at the end of the discussions, we can really see how necessary it was to organize this broad discussion—in the party and the entire society and at this broad forum of the basic cadres and aktiv of all fields of activity—in order to better understand the current stage of Romanian society and especially in order to lay down future guidelines and orientations for Romania's firm advance toward the highest peaks of progress and civilization. [cheers, chants]

Highly valuing the revolutionary road of struggle and work and the great achievements obtained under the leadership of our Communist Party in building the socialist system, the present forum emphasized with great satisfaction that the Romanian socialist society has reached a high level of development, which opens up bright prospects for implementing the party program and ensuring the firm progress of our whole nation toward the golden dream of Romania and our people, namely toward communism. [cheers, chants]

We must reiterate that all these great achievements in socialist construction, particularly after the Ninth RCP Congress, demonstrates the correctness of the general policy promoted by our party, which has applied and continues to creatively apply objective laws and the principles of scientific socialism to conditions and realities prevailing in our country. All this shows that our party has fulfilled and continues to honorably fulfill its historic mission and that the strengthening of the party's leading role is the supreme guarantee of our fatherland's unswerving march forward. [cheers, chants]

At the same time, the forum justifiably emphasized that all these achievements are the result of the self-denying work of our workers class, peasantry, intelligentsia, all working people, and our whole nation, who, in full unity, have implemented and continue to unflinchingly implement the domestic and foreign policy of our party and state. Therefore, at the end of these broad discussions and of our democratic forum's proceedings, I would like to extend warmest congratulations to our workers class, peasantry, intelligentsia, and all our people for all these achievements, as well as wishes for new successes in implementing our socioeconomic development programs, raising our fatherland to new peaks of progress, civilization, well-being, and happiness, and strengthening Romania's independence and sovereignty. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades: During its session, the high democratic forum discussed and endorsed the socioeconomic development plans for 1989, which play a particularly important role in fulfilling the Eighth 5-Year Plan. The plan provisions and measures aimed at unflinchingly implementing the program for organizing and modernizing, for economic and financial norm-setting, for improving the quality and technical level of products, and for increasing labor productivity and economic efficiency in all areas have been unanimously endorsed.

With good reason, particular attention has been paid to the activity of developing international economic relations and commendably fulfilling the export plan for this year, the next one, and for the overall 5-year plan. Our activity must focus on constantly improving the quality and technical level of products. Let us do all we can so that in the next 5-year plan Romanian products will rank in the forefront and that in many areas they rank first from the point of view of quality and technical level.

We have a good and highly trained workers class, good technicians, engineers, and men of science. We have a strong material base and a modern industry and thus we have everything that is necessary to achieve high quality products which can compete with the best such products in the world and we must achieve this. [applause]

One can say that the whole democratic forum especially stressed the need to enhance the role of research and of science in all areas and to perfect the educational activity aimed at constantly improving the professional, technical, scientific, and cultural standard of all our cadres and of all the working people.

It was justifiably stressed here that only on the basis of the most modern achievements of science and technology and universal knowledge will we be able to ensure the unflinching fulfillment of our plans and programs for socioeconomic development, for constantly raising our homeland to new heights of progress, and for constantly improving our people's material and cultural standard of living.

The program for self-management and self-administration was unanimously endorsed. This program ensures the material base for improving supplies in all areas. At this point all necessary measures have to taken to commendably implement the provisions of this program.

I would like to call on all central departments, ministries, people's councils, and county party committees to pay particular and constant attention to implementing the provisions of the program for central and local self-sufficiency and to ensuring proper supplies for the people in the spirit of our party's policy according to which man is the main concern, and the well-being and happiness of the people are the essence of our party's policy and of the socialist society which we are building in Romania. [cheers, chants]

Through unanimously endorsing the guidelines for the Ninth 5-Year Plan, for the 1991-2000 period and, in some areas, for the first 10-year period in the 21st century, we are facing wonderful prospects for our homeland's constant development and for unflinchingly implementing the party program aimed at raising our homeland to increasingly greater heights of civilization.

Everything we have achieved so far and our firm determination to strengthen state and cooperative socialist ownership and to perfect the ideological and educational-political activity of molding a new man and of enhancing the role of the party as the leading political force and vital core of our whole nation, guarantees that everything we propose to achieve will be accomplished through the united work of all our people.

At this time, it is necessary for us to move with great determination to the organizational and political activity with a view to implementing our plans, programs, and long-term guidelines up to the year 2000. Perfecting the conditions in all areas implies, as a vital necessity, the proper functioning of the workers revolutionary democracy bodies. At the same time, each party and state activist, and cadres in all areas must work, under any circumstances, in the spirit of great revolutionary responsibility and give pride of place to the constant observance and implementation of the party decisions and of our country's laws, and to the constant strengthening of legality, order, and discipline in all areas. [cheers, chants]

It is necessary to take resolute steps to firmly apply the principle of socialist ethics and equity and to create a broad mass spirit for and trend of working and living in a revolutionary and communist spirit. [cheers, chants]

Likewise, we should take firm steps to improve society's management on the basis of a uniform national plan for the development of all sectors of activity. The supervision of production, prices, and other spheres cannot be left at random; we should not permit these aspects to be regulated by market requirements or forces. The emergence of certain difficulties in the process of socialist development should not lead to panic and to loss of trust in the strength of the workers class and of the people in socialism. The efforts to further improve socialism require that we march forward, not backward to capitalist ways. We should always proceed from strengthening the role of the workers class, in alliance with the peasantry, intelligentsia, all working people, and the whole nation. Only thus will the workers class and socialism be able to fully assert themselves. [cheers, chants]

Only under such conditions can our party commendably fulfill its mission of leading the great work of building socialism and communism. To be a revolutionary and Communist means always being the front ranks of the struggle against all that is old and outdated and no longer fits our new stage of development. It also means taking firm steps to promote all that is new as well as the revolutionary spirit and concept in all spheres of activity. In conclusion, I would like to stress once more the need to further improve and strengthen the role of the party as the leading political force and vital center of the entire nation. We must always bear in mind that the party is responsible and must bear full responsibility for implementing its program.

Even during the underground period, when it had to wage hard battles, the party and the Communists were in the front ranks of the struggle of the broad masses. They were not afraid of prisons, (word indistinct) and camps and did not recoil in fear even before firing squads. They behaved like true revolutionaries who wanted to achieve the great ideals for which they joined the Communist Party and the ranks of those determined to struggle for a new social system. Now, when the party has become the leading force—having assumed society's leadership, with all the people—the party and Communists must be in the front ranks and must never give in to hardships, because this is the only way in which they can fulfill their mission and only they can implement the program for which they have fought and are still fighting. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades: On 1 December all our people are celebrating the 70th anniversary of Transylvania's union with the rest of the country and the formation of the

united Romanian national state. This great victory of a long process of struggle represented the crowning of the century-old strivings of all our people. [cheers, chants]

Even nature, which for thousands of years has secured our people's existence in these lands, and the sun itself appeared today smiling on us, ready to participate together with our people in this great holiday, knowing that with this gesture it will emphasize how much it wanted—and the sun knows that there was no Romanian citizen who did not want—the unity of the national fatherland. [cheers, chants]

From the rostrum of our high democratic forum, we pay our deep homage to all those who contributed, through their work and sacrifice, to the Constitution of the united national state. Once more, I would like to pay the highest possible homage to all our people, the true shapes of history and of our nation's present and future and the guarantors of the construction of the socialist and communist society in Romania. [cheers, chants]

It is true that the bourgeois-landlord system did not solve the basic problems of the Romanian society's development, as was requested by the participants in the Alba Iulia rally [a 1918 rally which sanctioned Transylvania's union with the rest of Romania] and by all our people. The achievement of full equality of rights, the development of the forces of production, and the growth of the people's material and intellectual living standards only came true with the construction of the socialist society in our fatherland. This proves once more that only by eliminating exploitation and oppression and by ensuring that the working people and all the people become true masters of their own destiny, can one commendably fulfill the whole nation's strivings for well-being, freedom, independence, and happiness. [cheers, chants]

On the 70th anniversary of the creation of a united Romanian national state, let us pledge that we will act, in a spirit of the utmost responsibility for the people's interests, to further strengthen Romania's independence and sovereignty, to increasingly develop the forces of production, science, culture, and education, and to mold the new man, conscious builder of socialism and communism. Let us pledge to always do our best to promote the well-being and happiness of all our people and Romania's greatness in the communist society. [cheers, chants]

Esteemed comrades: Proceeding from the unanimous endorsement of our party-state international policy, I would like to again assure our friends abroad and all peoples and states in Europe and throughout the world, that Socialist Romania will continue to take firm steps to develop cooperation with all states, regardless of differences, on the basis of the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs of other countries, and observance of each people's right to free and independent development, in accordance with its wishes. [cheers, chants]

We are determined to participate actively and vigorously in the efforts to bring about disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, create a world without arms and weapons, build a united Europe, with a diverse social system, and establish a new international economic order. A Europe divided in several groups cannot fulfill its mission. We should create a united Europe with diverse social systems and different philosophical and political concepts, a Europe of free and independent nations, which can act in a spirit of full unity to ensure overall socioeconomic progress, disarmament, peace, and a better and more just world. [cheers, chants]

Only a united Europe can play an important part and make a greater contribution to solving the great problems of the international life and creating a world in which each nation can develop in accordance with its wishes, a world of progress, peace, and cooperation. [cheers, chants]

I would also like to reiterate our country's determination to continue to take vigorous steps to strengthen the unity and solidarity of all socialist countries. We must always bear in mind that only together, in full solidarity, can our countries build socialism and we, in Romania, can implement our party's program. No nation standing alone, including our nation, can guarantee progress toward or the victory of socialism. Socialism can only be the outcome of the joint struggle of all forces and nations that have embarked upon the socialist road and of all people striving for a better world, a world of social justice. [cheers, chants]

This is why solidarity and cooperation are an objective requirement of development on the road to socialism and communism. Let us achieve this by moving from the principles of a new unity of equality and from the right of each party and people to apply the general laws and the principles of scientific socialism in accordance with the specific conditions in each country.

We must achieve a strong unity based on free socialist and independent nations each of which is building socialism with the people and for the people. [cheers, chants]

At the same time, we have to continue to strengthen cooperation and solidarity with communist and workers parties, with socialist and social-democratic parties, and with other democratic and progressive forces, because—at a broad international level, too,—no party can stand alone in the great struggle for progress, peace, and for the victory of the new social system. The unity of the workers and communist movement on the basis of the

new principles of equality, is a vital requirement now, as it was in the past, a law of socioeconomic development and of the advancement toward socialism.

The slogan launched by the founders of scientific socialism: "proletarians from all countries unite" continues to be a topical slogan. True, now it should gain a much wider scope and call on both the proletariat, peasants, intellectuals, the oppressed peoples everywhere, and on all those who desire a better and more just life, who want peace to unite within a broad front of freedom and progress favoring a world without arms, without wars, a world of social and national justice. [cheers, chants]

Once again I would like to reaffirm the confidence and conviction of our people that, although the world situation continues to be complicated and serious, there are enough forces in the world, which, through united action, are able to change the trend of events, to impose a new policy and thinking in all areas, as well as disarmament, peace, and respect for each nation's right to a better, free, and independent life, and which are able to guarantee the peaceful coexistence of all humanity. [applause]

Concluding the proceedings of our broad democratic forum, we pledge not to spare any efforts and to do all we can to resolutely implement the party program for building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's firm advance toward the golden dream—communism. [cheers, chants]

Let us welcome the 45th anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for national and social liberation and the 14th RCP Congress with ever new achievements in all areas. [applause]

I would like to emphasize again that we must work with utmost determination to perfect and improve the level of ideological, political, scientific, and educational training and the activity of molding a new type of man, a conscious builder of socialism and communism. Let us educate our young people and our whole people in the spirit of revolutionary struggle and self-denial, and teach them not to be afraid and not to back away from any hardships.

I would also like, within this framework, to repeat some lines of a poem I also read on other occasions: "Those who struggle grumbling, ought to struggle in the first ranks; they seem to us as good as any fleeing coward; the grumbling today is moaning and whining in vain." We need revolutionary fighters and not people who are lamenting and who are afraid of struggle and hardships. Communists have never backed away from any hardships and are determined to do all they can to ensure the victory of socialism and communism in Romania. [cheers, chants]

We live in a period of important historic circumstances in which people are masters of their destinies, but the spirit of struggle and sacrifice should not and cannot disappear. On the contrary, this spirit should increase our ability to overcome all hardships and to firmly advance toward our golden dream. Communists and revolutionaries should act firmly and courageously in all circumstances and overcome all hardships. As I mentioned in my speech, we are starting off on a new and long road, a glorious road of work and struggle. Let us do all we can so that, through the united work of our people, under the leadership of the party, we travel on this road in the shortest time possible and with increasingly better results in order to reach the highest peaks and the achievement of our golden dream: the communist society. [cheers, chants]

On the basis of the decisions we have unanimously adopted, we do not start off on a triumphal march, but on a road of revolutionary work and struggle. We should continuously strengthen the unity of our party, the revolutionary spirit, and the unity of our whole nation. These are a guarantee of victory in the struggle for socialism and communism. [cheers, chants]

I emphasize again the need to act in all circumstances as true revolutionaries, in the spirit of high responsibility toward the party, the people, and the cause of socialism and communism, and toward Romania's independence and sovereignty. [cheers, chants]

I express my complete confidence that all the participants in the proceedings of our great democratic forum, the whole party and state aktiv, all the working people, and our whole nation will act in complete unity and will ensure the appropriate fulfillment of all the plans and programs for our homeland's development, so that at the end of the current 5-year plan, at the end of the Ninth 5-Year Plan, and particularly in the year 2000, we will be able to view our achievements with justified pride and state that everything we proposed in 1988, on the eve of the 70th anniversary of the creation of the united national state, have been achieved. On the 80th anniversary of the united national state and the 400th anniversary of Mihai the Brave's uniting the Romanian principalities, Romania will be a strongly developed socialist country, elevated to the highest pinnacles, progressing toward our golden dream: communism. [cheers, chants]

Although there is a month to go until the end of this year and the beginning of the new year, I would like to convey to all of you, to the whole party and state aktiv, and to our whole nation best wishes and wishes for new satisfactions and new accomplishments in all areas in 1989, the year which should lead to the continuous improvement of the well-being and happiness of our whole nation. [cheers, chants]

I convey to all the participants in this great democratic forum and to all our people new successes in all areas, much good health and happiness. [cheers, chants]

I declare the proceedings of our great democratic forum closed!

Long live the Romanian Communist Party, the leading political force and the vital core of our socialist nation! [cheers, chants]

Glory to our great free and independent people. I wish them eternal life and happiness in communism! [cheers and chants]

May peace and cooperation among all nations of the world triumph! [cheers, chants]

Documents Adopted at Conclusion

AU3011181488 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1724 GMT 30 Nov

["Conclusion of the Proceedings of the Joint Plenary Meeting of the CC of the RCP, of Democratic Bodies and Mass and Public Organizations"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 30/11/1988—The proceedings of the joint plenary meeting of the CC of the RCP, of democratic bodies and mass and public organizations, held under the chairmanship of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of Romania, concluded on Wednesday, November 30.

Debates in plenum were conducted in the morning. Taking the floor were full and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, vice-presidents of the State Council, deputy prime ministers, minister, first secretaries of county committees of the RCP, executives of economic units and of mass organizations.

The participants in the joint meeting unanimously adopted the draft national plan for the Romania's economic and social development in 1989; the draft centralized financial plan of socioeconomic activities and the draft state budget for 1989; the programme of self-management and self-sufficiency for the ensurance of the population's proper supply with foodstuffs and industrial consumer goods in 1989.

The participants adopted a resolution whereby the speech Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of Romania, delivered at the start of the joint plenary meeting becomes a programme of revolutionary work and action of the party, of the entire people.

A resolution of the joint plenary meeting of the CC of the RCP, of democratic bodies and mass and public organizations was also adopted.

At the end of the proceedings Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of Romania, addressed the participants.

Ceausescu Chairs, Addresses SDUF Plenary Meeting

AU3011205988 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1937 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 30/1/1988—Under the chairmanship of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of Romania, chairman of the SDUF [Socialist Democracy and Unity Front], a plenary meeting of the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front was held on Wednesday, November 30. It discussed and endorsed the draft plans for Romania's socioeconomic development in 1989.

The participants in the debates pointed out that the documents in the agenda of the plenary meeting were fully consonant with the targets set by the Thirteenth Congress and the National Conference of the party, with the requirements for Romania's economic and social development in the current stage, providing for the further development of the production forces, the intensive growth and updating of industry, agriculture and all branches of the national economy, the rise in the Romanian nation's material and spiritual standards.

The participants in the plenary meeting unanimously approved the documents in the agenda, as well as the resolution and call of the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front.

At the end of the proceedings President Nicolae Ceausescu took the floor.

The same day a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Organization was held in Bucharest.

GNA Session Opens; Ceausescu, Wife Present

AU0112095288 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0900 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Proceedings of the eighth session of the ninth legislature of the Grand National Assembly [GNA] opened this morning in Bucharest. On their arrival in the hall of the parliament, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu were welcomed with strong applause.

Opening the session proceedings, GNA Chairman Comrade Nicolae Giosan emphasized that the current session takes place in an atmosphere of great patriotic ardor generated by the brilliant speech made by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the joint session of the RCP Central Committee plenum and of other revolutionary workers democracy bodies and mass and public organizations; as is known, that speech was unanimously adopted as a program of revolutionary work and action for the whole party and nation, with a view to securing the country's socioeconomic development and thus raising the level of civilization and well-being of all the people.

On behalf of all deputies, the speaker paid warm homage to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, ardent patriot and revolutionary, consistent defender of the principles of socialism and communism, brilliant thinker, and prominent personality of the contemporary world, who has devoted and continues to devote his entire life and activity to achieving the people's supreme aspirations for freedom, progress, and prosperity, defending Romania's freedom, sovereignty, and independence, building the socialist and communist society in our fatherland, and promoting the cause of international peace and cooperation. He expressed sentiments of profound regard for the outstanding activity of Comrade Elena Ceausescu, eminent politician, who is working, with revolutionary devotion and passion, to develop science, education, and culture, thus making a very important contribution to working out and implementing our socioeconomic development programs and implementing our party-state domestic and foreign policy.

Then, the speaker referred—on this day, 1 December, which marks the 70th anniversary of the united Romanian national state—to the historical importance of the great union, which fulfilled the century-old strivings of the Romanian people. He recalled, in words full of praise, the homage paid yesterday by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the great rally in the Republic Square to all those who contributed, through their struggle and sacrifice, to bringing about the historic event of 1 December 1918.

The GNA session unanimously adopted the following agenda:

Validation of the election of certain deputies to the GNA;

Draft law on the uniform national plan for the socioeconomic development of the SR of Romania in 1989;

Draft law on the plan for the development of agriculture, food industry, forestry, and water management of the SR of Romania in 1989;

Draft law on the state budget of the SR of Romania for 1989;

Program on self-management and self-sufficiency in order to ensure proper supplies of agricultural and food products and industrial consumer goods to the population in 1989;

Draft law on improving the economic-financial mechanism, by perfecting the price-setting system;

Draft law on improving the remuneration system in order to stimulate the production earmarked for export and the export itself;

Draft laws on endorsing State Council decrees with law-binding stipulations.

The GNA proceedings continue.

Ceausescu Chairs PEC Meeting 23 Nov

AU2311194588 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1851 GMT 23 Nov 88

["Meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 23/11/1988—A meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP was held on Wednesday, November 23, under the chairmanship of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP. Ministers and other managerial staff in the economy attended the meeting as invited guests.

The Executive Political Committee analysed the draft national plan for the economic and social development of the socialist Republic of Romania in 1989.

The Executive Political Committee stressed that the draft plan provided for the development levels to be attained in 1989 and contained ways and solutions conducive to an intensive-type economic growth, the rise in efficiency in every area, the unswerving fulfillment of the targets under the current five-year plan.

The draft plan was shown to have been worked out on the basis of broad consultations with enterprises, industrial central departments, research institutes and all units. Stress was also laid on the major amendments to the plan made during the debates conducted in the general meetings of working people held in October.

The draft plan provides for a further rise in industrial and farm production, the development of raw materials and energy resources, the powerful assertion of the new revolution in science and technology and of the new agrarian revolution, the uninterrupted growth of national wealth and, with that as a basis, the rise in the whole people's living and civilization standards.

During the meeting, the party general secretary, Nicolae Ceausescu, requested that every step should be taken in all fields of economic activity to secure the fulfil the plan for ongoing year and to thoroughly prepare the production of 1989.

The Executive Political Committee also examined the draft plan for the development of agriculture, the food industry, silviculture and water management in 1989.

The draft plan considers next year's development of those important branches and sectors of activity, their growing contribution to the population's proper supply and to the satisfaction of other requirements in the national economy. In that respect, provisions are included for a rise in plant and animal productions, in line with the national programme for the ensurance of stable crops and with the requirements of the new agrarian revolution.

The Executive Political Committee discussed the draft centralized financial plan of socioeconomic activity and the draft state budget for 1989.

The provisions in that area were shown to secure the financial resources needed for an intensive growth of the economy as a whole, for the attainment of all targets contained in the national plan for socioeconomic development in 1989 by consistently applying the principles of the new economic and financial mechanism, of worker self-management, self-financing and self-administration. At the same time, the necessary funds are ensured for the implementation of the measures aimed at increasing the working personnel's pays, the creation of all conditions for a rise in the whole people's standard of living and quality of life.

The Executive Political Committee endorsed the draft national plan for the economic and social development of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the draft plan for the development of agriculture, the food industry, silviculture and water management, the draft centralized financial plan of socioeconomic activity and draft state budget for 1989 and decided that they should be submitted for debate to the joint plenary meeting of the CC of the RCP and of the other bodies of revolutionary worker democracy.

The Executive Political Committee also examined a report on the analysis of the activity aimed at ensuring the quality, reliability and technical standard of products over January-September 1988.

In consideration of the results scored and of the shortfalls that continued to manifest in that respect, the Executive Political Committee emphasized the need for every step to be taken to radically improve activities in that area, for action to be undertaken in all firmness for the attainment of the targets under the programme for a rise in the technical standard and quality of products, for the strict observance of legal provisions.

With a view to improving the activity of control over quality and enhancing the sense of responsibility in all the staff in the respective area, the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP decided that starting December this year the state general inspectorate for quality control and its territorial bodies should be directly guided by the State Council, being no longer subordinated to central departments and enterprises.

The quality of products, the party general secretary, Nicolae Ceausescu, said during the meeting, should be a permanent concern, a problem of everyday activity for every worker, for the management boards of all economic units, central departments and ministries, for control bodies, central synthesis bodies, the government, all party bodies and organizations, mass and public organizations and the working people's councils, that should work most firmly for the firm application and strict observance of legal provisions, of the norms set with a view to enhancing quality and technical standard of products.

The Executive Political Committee also analysed the programme of self-management and self-sufficiency to secure the population's proper supply with foodstuffs and industrial consumer goods in 1989.

The programme was shown to have been worked out according to the resolutions of the Thirteenth Congress and the National Conference of the RCP, and emphasis was placed on the constant concern of the party, of the Romanian state for a permanent rise in the whole people's standard of living and in its welfare, materially and spiritually.

According to that programme, the amounts of meat and meat preparations to be delivered to the market stock next year are larger than in 1988, to provide for a larger consumption per capita. Provisions are also made for significant amounts of fish, milk and dairy products, of other foodstuffs, of vegetables, potatoes and fruit.

At the same time, a fine supply of the population with industrial goods will be ensured through deliveries of a wide range of commodities of an improved structure by types.

The Executive Political Committee endorsed that programme and decided that it should be submitted for debate to the joint plenary meeting of the CC of the RCP and of the other bodies of revolutionary worker democracy.

Relations With Australia Continue Tense

Closure of Consulate Threatened

LD0112085688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0831 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Sydney, 1 Dec (TANJUG)—The Australian foreign minister, Gareth Evans, announced this afternoon that the Australian Government had sent an ultimatum to the Yugoslav Government to hand over most urgently the security guard at our consulate in Sydney, otherwise the consulate will be shut down.

The ultimatum specifies that the security guard at our consulate in Sydney who used firearms during a clash with Ustasha attackers on Sunday, 27 November, should be handed over to Australian authorities by 1800 tomorrow, otherwise the consulate will be closed down.

Australian Government Gives Ultimatum

BK0112100688 Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0803 GMT 1 Dec 88

[From the "International Report" program]

[Text] Relations between Yugoslavia and Australia are becoming more tense as investigations into the shooting of a youth outside the Yugoslav Consulate during a demonstration in Sydney last weekend drag on.

Australia has now set a deadline of Friday [2 December] evening for the consulate to hand over a security guard to police for further interviews on the matter. The Australian foreign minister, Senator Evans, says that unless the Yugoslavs cooperate, he will close the consulate. Stuart Heather reports from Canberra on the deteriorating relations.

[Begin recording] [Heather] Shortly before Senator Evans' announcement, the Yugoslav ambassador in Canberra, Dr Boris Cizelj, conceded that relations between Yugoslavia and Australia were pretty tense. The Yugoslav Government wanted Australia to pay more attention to what it described as the criminal acts committed by demonstrators who invaded the consular grounds last Sunday. While Dr Cizelj acknowledged Australia's interest in the shooting, he said both aspects of the day's events should be investigated.

Australia has asked for the security guard alleged to have shot the youth to leave the consulate and surrender himself and the gun to police. After 4 days of intensive diplomatic exchanges and with strong public pressure for a resolution, the Australian Government's patience ran out. The minister for foreign affairs, Senator Evans:

[Evans] A few minutes ago a representative of the Yugoslav Embassy was called in to the senior officers of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade and told that in the opinion of the Australian Government evidence existed to justify the arresting and prosecution [words indistinct], among other things, of shooting with intent to (?cause) bodily harm, punishable with rights under the New South Wales Crimes Act—such a prosecution was possible against the named employee of the consulate general. The ambassador was further told that the Consulate General was required to submit or surrender that person into the custody of the New South Wales police authorities within 24 hours—that is, by 6:00 tomorrow night—and it would be definitely according to the law of New South Wales, and that if, after 6:00 tomorrow night, he hasn't been surrendered as requested, then the Australian Government will immediately close the Consulate General in Sydney, and the consul general and all of the members of the consulate staff and their dependents will be required to leave Australia within 72 hours—that is, by Monday evening next. [Words indistinct], we have an obligation (?as members) of the UN Convention. Article 26 on terminating the functions [words indistinct] to give in effect that person and all the individuals involved safe passage out of the country. [end recording]

Australia's Evans Comments

BK3011085588 Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0800 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Text] Australia has warned that last Sunday's shooting outside Yugoslavia's Consulate in Sydney threatened to damage relations between the two countries. The foreign affairs minister, Senator Evans, says there are signs of diminishing cooperation with investigators from the Yugoslavian consul general.

Radio Australia's Canberra office says that the foreign affairs minister later confirmed that one option under consideration was the closure of the consulate and expulsion from Australia of its staff.

Senator Evans told Parliament that the police wanted a second interview with the guard responsible for the shot that wounded a Croatian youth taking part in a demonstration outside the consulate.

Reaction to Ultimatum

LD0112140588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1211 GMT 1 Dec 88

["Belgrade Suprised at Australian Government Ultimatum"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Dec (TANJUG)—The news about the Australian Government's ultimatum has been received with great surprise by Belgade political circles.

In their initial, unofficial reaction to Canberra's threat to close down the SFRY Consulate in Sydney, these circles stress that the move is unusual in relations between countries and that facts have been disregarded.

Belgrade is devoting great attention to the problem and its effects. It is being stressed here that Yugoslavia will react reciprocially to the Australian Government.

TANJUG has learned that Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, will summon Peter Shannon, Australian charge d'affaires in Belgrade, to outline Yugoslav stands.

The federal secretariat for foreign affairs is expected to issue a statement on the whole affair here today.

As has been reported, the Australian Government today sent an ultimatum to Yugoslavia: either the consular official who fired into the air during an attack by Ustasha demonstrators is handed over to Australian authorities, or Australia will close down the SFRY Consulate General in Sydney on Monday.

Protest Over 'Attack' on Consulate

LD3011223888 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2058 GMT 30 Nov 88

["Yugoslav Communique on Sidney Incident"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, November 30 (TAMJUG)—Until this moment, except regrets expressed Yugoslavia's Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs has received no reply from the Australian authorities to the Yugoslav Government's energetic protest demanding all necessary measures for full protection of Yugoslavia's diplomatic and consular representations in Australia to be taken.

After antiYugoslav demonstrations and attack on the Yugoslav Consulate General in Sidney, the Yugoslav Federal Government also denied that the perpetrators of terrorist attacks and acts levelled not only against Yugoslavia, but also against stable Yugoslav-Australian relations and cooperation be found and punished, it was announced here this evening.

Also expressed was the Yugoslav side's expectation to be urgently informed of measures taken by the Australian authorities in connection with the attack on Yugoslavia's Consulate General in Sidney.

Emphasis was laid in Yugoslavia's communique on statements made by Australian representatives neglecting Australia's and its government's obligations, passing in silence over the ignoring [of] justified Yugoslav demands while [word indistinct] to shift their own responsibility over to the Consulate General's staff, the attack vicitims.

In consequence of such a passive attitude by the Australian authorities that came to expression, too, during the attack launched by a big enraged pro-Ustashi group on the territory of the Consulate General and its staff inside on November 27. Physical resistance was left as the only means for protecting integrity and dignity.

The Yugoslav side would like to have the whole problem solved in a principled way and in the interest of further development of relations between Yugoslavia and Australia.

It is up to the Canberra government to fulfill its (?international) and legal obligations and responsibility to that effect, the Yugoslav Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs said in conclusion.

Police Interview Man in Consulate

AU2911121988 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Text] Representatives of the New South Wales police have been allowed into the SFRY Consulate building to interview the security worker who supposedly fired shots in order to frighten off pro - Ustasha extremists who tried to enter the consulate yard on Sunday. On that occasion, a ricocheted bullet wounded a demonstrator.

No details of the interview, which was also attended by Consul General Stanojlo Glisic, have been disclosed.

According to TANJUG reports from Sydney, Glisic openly accused the Australian police of failing to ensure suitable protection for the consulate and of allowing the extremists to threaten the lives of the people in our diplomatic mission. The fact that Ustasha demonstrators broke into the consulate yard is exclusively a consequence of the fact that the Australian police were not ready to respond to the numerous warnings by the Yugoslav side.

Ambassador Expresses Sympathy

LD0112140988 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0939 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Sydney, December 1 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Ambassador in Canberra Dr Boris Cizelj told a press conference here that he regretted that 16-year-old Josef Tokic was wounded in the incident which occurred during an attack by Ustashas on the Yugoslav Consulate-General in Sydney.

Cizelj indicated that it was high time the Australian police discovered and arrested the persons who broke into the consulate grounds.

We sympathize with the family of the wounded Tokic, Cizelj said, adding that the law must be applied to those who broke into the consulate grounds and provoked the incident.

'Special Control Measures' in Force

LD0112141088 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1103 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Sydney, Dec 1 (TANJUG)—A spokesman for St Vincent's Hospital in Sydney said on Thursday that Josef Tokic (16) would probably leave the hospital

already next week. Tokic was wounded in a commotion caused by a terrorist attack of some 30 pro-Ustasha demonstrators, who on Sunday broke into the grounds of the Yugoslav Consulate General in Sydney.

Tokic is recovering very quickly and is already able to walk without the help of medical staff.

Today, five days after the terrorist attack, the Yugoslav Consulate is working normally, under special control measures of the police who check everybody entering the official part of the building.

The Australian officials investigating the incident have not yet released an x-ray of Tokic's wounded neck, so that it can be seen what exactly hit the unfortunate boy in last week's incident.

The authorities have also not announced whether Tokic was hit by a ricochetted bullet or injured by a spike on the fence near which he was standing. It is also not yet clear whether he was wounded or injured at one place and later carried to the entrance of the consulate building.

Leaker of Secret Plan To Be Tried

AU0112114088 Paris AFP in English
1126 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 1 (AFP)—A former intelligence official who revealed the existence of a secret government project to undermine democratization in Slovenia will be tried behind closed doors, the magazine MLADINA reported Thursday.

Roman Leljak, 25, had given MLADINA, the organ of the Slovenian Communist youth organization, details of Operation Mladost (youth), whose existence was denied by the Slovenian interior minister and the Yugoslav deputy defense minister.

Mr. Leljak is accused of "theft, illegal wiretapping and illegal possession of a weapon" while he was working in the military counter-espionage unit, which he left in February because of "disagreement on working methods."

He faces up to 15 years in prison. The main witness against him is Bojan Porokthe, the head of military security in Maribor, Slovenia, the magazine added.

Slovenia, the most liberal and pro-Western of Yugoslavia's six republics, has embarked on a process of economic and political liberalization spearheaded by its youth movement that the federal government has often accused of being tantamount to a "counterrevolution."

Stanovnik Rejects Resignation Option

LD2711012388 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2302 GMT 26 Nov 88

[Text] Zagreb, Nov 26 (TANJUG)—Dr Janez Stanovnik, president of the Presidency of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia, has rejected the possibility of resigning from his post after criticism he has received from the state presidency and other Yugoslav institutions.

"My resignation would be sheer demagogy," Stanovnik (68) said in an interview published in tomorrow's issue of the Zagreb daily VJESNIK.

However, he noted that it would be "easier than to continue in the present circumstances. [no closing quotemark as received]

Dr Stanovnik was the target of fierce criticism following his statements during a private visit to the United States last month. Official Yugoslav organs qualified the statements as "unacceptable" and harmful for the country's reputation. This applied particularly to his assessment that the country was "on the brink of civil war" prior to the 17th session of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee, and to his subjective interpretation of the policy of the party leadership of the country's biggest federal unit, the Republic of Serbia.

In an interview published in tomorrow's issue of the Zagreb daily VJESNIK, Dr Stanovnik notes that "there is resistance among Slovenians to attempts of Serbian hegemonism, as such resistance exists among any proud and sovereign people," but the current constitutional strengthening of the state functions of Serbia, which has two autonomous provinces, Kosovo and Vojvodina, "does not neccessarily imply hegemonistic tendencies."

"Who among sincere Yugoslavs wants a weak Serbia," Dr Stanovnik asked, and concluded, "isn't it clear that Yugoslavia can be strong if all individually (each federal unit) are strong."

Stanovnik, a respected economist and executive secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe between 1968 and 1982, said in the interview that the Yugoslav model of socialism "exhausted itself" when the country completed its structural transit from a primitive agrarian society to industrialization in the mid-1960's.

When it came face to face with the challenge of economic efficiency, the system broke down, Stanovnik said.

Stanovnik Comments on Campaign Against Him

LD2211030888 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0225 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] Ljubljana, Nov 21 (TANJUG)—President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia's Republic of Slovenia Janez Stanovnik said here on Monday that he was still thinking about a campaign against him and about what he called insults concerning his statements during his U.S. visit early this November.

"I am outspoken equally here and abroad and this is why I have constant difficulties," he noted in addressing Ljubljana University students at a public discussion.

Stanovnik referred critically to the cadre changes in the Central Committee (CC) of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY). He criticized the decision of this supreme party organ to have one-third of its membership replaced.

"Those who have lost by secret ballot are now returning to this organ," Stanovnik said in a scathing allusion to Dusan Ckrebic's decision to withdraw his resignation. Ckrebic, member of the Presidency of the LCY CC from the LC of Serbia, had resigned as Presidency member when he failed to obtain the necessary majority by secret ballot at the LCY CC session in October.

Stanovnik also stressed that there were no discrepancies between Slovenia and Serbia as regards their views on the essence of the economic reform.

But he said there were questions which are not looked at in the same way. He illustrated the assertion by quoting from a speaker at the Belgrade meeting on Saturday who said that those who had not equal views might leave the country and go, for example, to Graz or Philaduh but, said Stanovnik, "Our home is here and nobody will move us out of here. It is on this land that we, Slovenians, will fight for democracy and a better life." Stanovnik also cautioned that the Slovenians would not allow "anybody to make fun of their fate."

Jasari Comments on Pristina Demonstrations

AU3011163088 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19-20 Nov 88 p 6

[Unattributed report on interview with Kacusa Jasari, member of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, by BORBA in Pristina on 18 November: "We Did Not Expect Such a Thing To Happen"]

[Text] Pristina, 18 Nov—At the moment when Azem Vlasi was addressing 60,000 people in the Pristina stadium, who were freneticaly applauding him and chanting, Kacusa Jasari was giving an exclusive interview to BORBA.

[Question] How are you going to calm down these people?

[Jasari] I do not know how we are going to do that, but I am sure that we shall have to do so. I did not at all expect a thing like this to happen after the session. I was afraid of a negative impact because we already have bad interethnic relations.

[Question] Today's newspapers carried a report that immediately before the miners departed Titova Mitrovica, you talked with the management of the mine and that shortly afterward the miners departed for Pristina. Among other things, one can conclude from this that you personally or a part of the provincial leadership has something to do with what has been happening in Kosovo yesterday and today.

[Jasari] I was very upset with what was reported in the papers. I have called nobody and had no time for any such contacts immediately before the session. However, at that time I was informed through various channels that workers were departing for Pristina. I felt that that was a grave manipulation, similar to the manipulations connected with me which have been happening recently. I feel that they are a defamation of my character. However, I must tell you that my conscience is clean and that I accept these things calmly, although I am not indifferent. However, the problem lies in the fact that people who do not know me can believe anything, particularly because I was holding the office of the president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium at that time.

Decision Will Not Be Changed

[Question] What do you think will happen next?

[Jasari] I do not know, but I am aware that this is a very, very serious thing, particularly when one considers that our interethnic relations are extremely aggravated and that the solidarity meeting in Belgrade will be held tomorrow. For us, what happened was an unexpected event.

[Question] If you are unable to control the development of events with political means in the way you are now doing, will you employ constitutional and legal means?

[Jasari] We have to keep a firm grip on the situation and we are doing so at the moment. The law and Constitution must be obeyed. I hope that we will be able to keep things going in a positive direction using the present set-up. However, the problem lies in the fact that people from all parts of the province have come here. I am not afraid of what workers may do, because, as a former trade union president, I know them, but there are many youths in this crowd and you know that one can never be certain about what they can do.

[Question] How did you feel when you stepped down from the post of president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium? After all that has happened, at the end of the session you looked relieved.

[Jasari] I have some personal problems, so I did feel relieved. However, I do not see this as stepping down, because I have remained a member of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, but I must say that the matter has been made easier for me, because I never had much time to adjust to my post.

[Question] In front of the assembly building this morning, the Novo Brdo miners demanded that the decisions made at the session of the Provincial Committee be annulled.

[Jasari] I have not heard about this specific demand, but we should be aware that the Provincial Committee is a party body, that it has made its decisions, and that nothing can and should be changed about that. All that has been happening yesterday and today—and not only the event in front of the Provincial Committee building that you just mentioned—is, among other things, a kind of pressure aimed at changing the decisions of the Provincial Committee. These decisions will not be changed.

[Question] How do you feel about such support for yourself and Azem Vlasi?

[Jasari] As far as I am concerned, I think that there is a certain difference between Vlasi and me. I do not see this as support, but more as my own worry, because it is not healthy for relations in our society for support to be extended to an individual. Any support from broad masses, no matter for whom, does not seem to me to be anything good.

[Question] Have not these events in fact confirmed the statement recently attributed to Azem Vlasi to the effect that he also has on his own people?

[Jasari] I do not know whether he said that. You can ask him. I have never thought in that way. Speaking sincerely and personally, if I knew that I had received one-sided support, that would upset me.

Leaders Are Dangerous

[Question] Did not Kosovo get its national leaders through these events?

[Jasari] I do not know and I do not think about that, but if this is interpreted in such a way, then that is fatal for us. I could not accept such a thing. You know yourself what leaders can bring. With our interethnic relations, creating leaders would be and is a very wrong thing to do. Those people who today think that they can elevate themselves to national leaders are on a wrong road.

[Question] Was what has been happening in Kosovo for the last 2 days organized by somebody and by whom?

[Jasari] I do not know whether it is organized.

[Question] But can you not see yourself that there are many elements of organization in all that has been happening?

[Jasari] One cannot exclude that possibility, because when there is general discontent among the people there is always somebody who can take advantage of that. On the basis of what I heard during talks with workers in the Boro and Ramiz Hall, I cannot conclude that there is anything which would not be along the LC line. I cannot say the same for what is now happening at the stadium, because I cannot follow the situation there at the moment. I cannot exclude the possibility that there have been some unacceptable things in such a crowd. In any case, I think that what is happening now provides a good reason to make a very serious analysis. We have all failed to make such an analysis, although it would eliminate the causes of such a serious expression of discontent or support.

[Question] After hearing the many slogans voiced at these demonstrations, one gets the impression that the Albanians think that these changes are a threat to them.

[Jasari] There are some things in our society which we will have to analyze more. You can see for yourself that there are many defamations and many untruths. Apart from that, there was a general activity here which was directed against the LC and which had an impact on events here. There were also some divisions, although we are aware that we must overcome them. The only thing I know in this situation is that we must bring all people living in Kosovo closer to one another.

[Question] Who will be the new president of the LC Provincial Committee of Kosovo?

[Jasari] I do not know. We shall use the democratic procedure of nominating candidates and holding elections with several candidates.

[Question] The names mentioned are Husamedin Azemi and Ali Sukrija.

[Jasari] It was you journalists who mentioned these names. We have not talked about that. We shall open broader consultations. It will be somebody who will be acceptable to everybody in Kosovo. In this situation, that is the most important criterion.

Vlasi Speaks on Albanian Gatherings in Kosovo

AU3011164488 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 26 Nov 88 p 5

[N. Sadiku, H. Mekaj report on the meetings of Pec LC Communal Committee and of the Pec Shoe and Leather Combine All - People's Defense and Social Self-Protection Committee on 25 November: "Mass Gatherings in Kosovo Call For Comprehensive and Realistic Assessment"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Azem Vlasi, member of the LCY Central Committee, also spoke at both of these meetings, and said that in this commune and in the Shoe and Leather Combine, just as everywhere else, activity must continue in order to stabilize the political and

security situation, thereby creating conditions for continuing the political battle to stabilize the general situation and for holding the next meeting of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee. From this point of view, gatherings and citizens' trips to Pristina are not necessary, because ways and means exist, within the framework of the system's institutions, to express demands and to assess the gatherings and other events. Every area itself knows how best to work, and how people were brought to the gatherings.

Azem Vlasi went on to emphasize that, because of the duties entrusted to him by the provincial leadership, he had appeared and spoken to the assembled people several times and in several places during the recent mass protest gatherings of working people and other citizens in Pristina and some other places in Kosovo. At these gatherings my name was mentioned many times by the participants in the protests. I therefore feel a moral and communist obligation to state that I have conveyed those many demands, views, and proposals I heard from working people and other participants at the talks with the Trepca workers in Titova Mitrovica on Friday 17 November [as published] and later, and which were in agreement with the LC line, to comrades in the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, who are working on preparations for the extraordinary meeting of the Provincial Committee. It is a question of demands that the participants in the debate insistently demanded to have conveyed to the leadership. My immediate impressions from these gatherings, like those of dozens and hundreds of our activists, and the way in which I have been execrated make me feel morally obliged to dissociate myself from and repudiate certain assertions and insinuations according to which the workers class has allegedly been manipulated and misused, and according to which everything was organized by enemies and nationalists. The leaderships and the LC's in those places from where participants in the protest gatherings came, the LC Provincial Committee, and the competent organs will be able to make a comprehensive and objective assessment in this connection.

There has been evidence of efforts by individuals and groups to infiltrate the gatherings with hostile and nationalist slogans, and measures have been taken against them by both state organs and by citizens themselves. Like everybody else, I strongly condemn such efforts by these individuals and groups.

Azem Vlasi added that the recent events in the province call for a comprehensive and realistic assessment without onesidedness or oversimplification of any kind. On the basis of realistic assessments, we must establish guidelines for action in accordance with the tasks set by the 17th LCY Central Committee plenum. Communists, other working people, and citizens must not fail to direct their energy and vigilance into a commitment to solve current problems through organized forms of political life, in other words, through the LC, SAWP, and youth organizations, on a common front of organized forces of all peoples and nationalities.

The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, as the responsible organ most competent to assess the character of recent events, will produce such an assessment at the meeting that has already been announced, and will provide a clear answer to the question of what elements predominated in recent events.

Everything that we will do must serve to strengthen intraethnic trust and togetherness, Azem Vlasi said in conclusion.

Korosec Comments on Recent Kosovo Events
AU2911165688 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Nov 88 p 9

[Unattributed report: "Stefan Korosec Does Not Have 'Sufficient Information' on Kosovo Yet"]

[Text] Taking part in the Slovene LC Central Committee session held yesterday, Stefan Korosec said that the discussions about Kosovo are still burdened by emotions and that there is not enough reliable information on which to evaluate the latest events in Pristina.

Korosec was of the opinion that the general assessment of the counterrevolution is not sufficient. He said that an agreement was made with Provincial Committee to establish what was anti-socialist, anti-Serbian, and anti-Yugoslav during the latest events, and what was socialist, pro-Serbian, and pro-Yugoslav. The "modest" information nevertheless enables one to notice some changes in the events that lasted 3 days in Pristina. Everything started with miners, but ended with very worrying discussions in Boro and in Ramiz Hall.

Korosec also said that one should make a clear distinction between spontaneous and organized gatherings, and that one should establish the cause as well as broader motives.

On the basis of brief conversations held so far, Korosec said, one can conclude that the people were insufficiently informed and even disinformed about constitutional changes.

Repeating that there is no solution without a joint front of organized socialist forces, Korosec said that the Provincial Committee is the most responsible for the situation in the province. He opposed the theses on the need to introduce a military administration in Kosovo, and to dissolve the Kosovo party. He said that the LCY Central Committee Presidium will make a much fuller assessment of the recent events in Pristina later.

At present there are about 20 members of LCY Central Committee, 4 members of its Presidium, and 5 executive secretaries visiting Kosovo.

Korosec also said that the LCY Central Committee Presidium was informed about the stands of the Serbian Presidency and the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium on the latest events in Kosovo.

Neither this or any other assessment was endorsed, Korosec said.

Dolanc on Importance of Kosovo Situation
LD1811021888 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0025 GMT 18 Nov 88

[Text] Ljubljana, November 17 (TANJUG)—The Serbs regard Kosovo as the cradle of the Serbian national identity and for this reason the situation in this province (in which ethnic Albanians now constitute 90 per cent of the population after continuous migrations by Serbs and Montenegrins) strongly affects the feelings of the Serbian people, Yugoslav State Presidency Vice-President Stane Dolanc said in an interview to the latest issue of the weekly TELEX.

Dolanc said the present situation in Kosovo was impossible and could only be improved through organized political and economic action to be carried out by the majority of the population, that is—ethnic Albanians. In this context he mentioned the problem of the province's birth-rate, blaming the Kosovo leadership for practically doing nothing so far in the field of the population policy. He said this was a strategic problem and in support of this assessment cited the fact that if the present birth-rate continues, Albanians will be the most numerous people on the Balkans by the year 2030.

Dolanc confirmed the statement he made in 1981 that a counter-revolution by the Albanian separatists had started in Kosovo with an armed conflict that year and was expressed in the slogan that Kosovo should become a republic, with the ultimate goal of becoming a part of neighbouring Albanina.

We can only interpret such intentions as being aimed at destroying Yugoslavia, Dolanc said categorically.

Dolanc's term in office in the Yugoslav State Presidency expires next year and he said that he sees Milan Kucan, the present Slovenian party chief, as his successor in the Presidency.

Under an established order of succession, the new head of the collective state presidency in the next mandate should be from the Republic of Slovenia.

Kosovo Press Comments on Albanian Greetings
AU2911111288 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 23 Nov 88 p 1

[Behlul Jashari commentary: "Not Merely a Slogan"]

[Text] One of the slogans shouted in chorus at the gatherings of citizens in Kosovo was "Down with Albanian nationalism." In this way, the Albanian nationality clearly dissociated itself from and rejected the reactionary platform of this form of nationalism, and all together, at the top of their voices, showed plainly that nationalism can never be called upon in support of a people. In unanimously denouncing it, they sought to shed a heavy burden from their shoulders—the tendentious and malicious identification of the entire Albanian nationality with nationalism. In this way, they repudiated as unacceptable and counterrevolutionary the slogans of some individuals—Albanian nationalists and provocateurs who infiltrated the great crowds of people, and were immediately identified, seized, and denounced. In one case, a slogan-monger of this kind was thrashed by the people themselves, by those who happened to be near him.

Considering that there were also members of other peoples and nationalities at these gatherings, however symbolic their numbers may have been, it can be said that in this way the common front in the struggle against Albanian nationalism, which must be led by the Albanian nationality themselves, has been reinforced and extended. We must use this fact to introduce further common elements of community, togetherness, and brotherhood and unity, in order to strengthen the common front of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks, Moslems, Romany Gypsies, and all other nationalities, on the determined and principled course of the LCY, in the light of Tito's vision and achievement, for new steps forward in the development of self-management and toward the realization of the three great reforms that will lead to an emergence from the crisis.

We can only achieve all these things together; in no way can we do so separately, or divided on the basis of nationality, as these gatherings were, although not entirely.

Nor can all these things be achieved by taking to the streets, but only in joint and common activity, organized within the institutions of the system of self-management and socialist democracy.

Let us therefore return with even greater strength and determination to our labor, study, and creative lives, and to our lives together in mines and factories, schools and colleges, towns, villages, neighborhoods, and families. Our greatest common duty is to stabilize the political and security situation in Kosovo, to prevent all forms of pressure and to stem Serbian and Montenegrin emigration, and to restore and strengthen interethnic trust. In this common commitment, as the LCY program for Kosovo states, the Albanian nationality has a particular duty and responsibility, precisely because they form the majority in this province.

Nationalism can never be our ally. Only all our peoples and nationalities together are allies on every front of life, work, togetherness, and prosperity, in self-managing, socialist, and federal Yugoslavia.

In conclusion, let us return to where we began. Let the slogan "Down with Albanian nationalism" not remain merely a slogan, but let us act upon it. It is up to those who shouted it to bear the greatest responsibility for accomplishing this, because it is precisely they who have learned by experience what great misfortunes nationalism has brought and still brings. These misfortunes also weigh heavily on other peoples and nationalities, so let the massed shout against nationalism be theirs as well.

Kosovo Commission Okays Constitution Amendments

LD2111114588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1053 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Text] Pristina, 21 Nov (TANJUG)—Kosovo Assembly's Constitutional Commission today approved the amendments to the SFRY Constitution and suggested that the provincial assembly should give its consent to constitutional amendments. It was agreed that this will secure the necessary conditions for overcoming the crisis and for implementing the economic reform.

The changes, it was stressed today, do not change the basic principles of the SFRY Constitution and the status of the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces as laid down by them. Nothing jeopardizes the equality of the nations and nationalities; only some specific incompletely formulated principles and ambiguities are eliminated, especially insofar as relations in the Socialist Republic of Serbia are concerned.

Macedonians Protest Kosovo Pamphlet

LD1811001688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1926 GMT 16 Nov 88

[Text] Skopje, 16 Nov (TANJUG)—At many meetings today in Macedonia protesters demanded that the responsibility be fully established of the signatories of a petition by the Kosovo Association of Philosophers, Sociologists, and Teachers of Albanian on the ostensible threat to, and disenfranchisement of, Albanians in the SR of Macedonia.

At the protest meetings the petition was decisively rejected and called as a hostile pamphlet which foments intranational hatred and belittles and encroaches on the dignity of Albanians in Macedonia.

"The Albanians in Macedonia do not need any outside guardians," Esad Bajran said today at the Presidium of the Skopje SAWP City Conference meeting, and added that about 5,000 Albanians in the Skopje village of Studenicani were embittered by such a pamphlet, the goal of which is to transfer the Kosovo drama to the SR of Macedonia.

The slanderous, deceitful, tendentious, paternalistic, and hostile statement by the Kosovo intellectuals, Josif Josevski said at the same session, requires that the competent federal organs undertake concrete measures against the signatories of the petition.

Tupurkovski Addresses Serbian LC Conference

AU3011130088 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Nov 88 pp 10-11

[Report on speech by Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at the Conference of the LC of Serbia in Belgrade on 21 November: "The Attacks on the Class Dimension of Democracy Are Too Transparent"]

[Text] Accompanied by applause, Vasil Tupurkovski greeted the Conference of the LC of Serbia on behalf of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, and then said:

The LCY conference held almost 6 months ago very clearly expressed both politically and ideologically a vision of a democratic renewal of the LC and of deep socioeconomic and political transformations. One does not need to explain again the existential importance of the changes in order to defend and then further creatively develop and enhance the categorical values of our revolution, the struggle of our workers class, and the achievements of our peoples and nationalities, which are simply called freedom, socialism, self-management, and nonalignment.

Reaffirming the Strategic Line of the LCY Conference

However, Tupurkovski continued, because of our crisis, because of the absence of readiness to change the unsatisfactory political and economic situation, because of the shortcomings in our unified political actions and in the LC itself, it is necessary to reaffirm the strategic line of the LCY conference, and to promote its views on our bureaucracy, antihistorical narrow-mindedness, and on fragmenting our general social interests and needs. At its conference, the LC of Serbia is concentrating precisely on the implementation of the economic and social reform.

This is a value judgment on the priorities of involvement of the socialist forces, and it must become the central part of the ideopolitical action of every communist, of every LC organization, and even of every progressive individual. We must simply oppose the crisis and our political handicaps with dynamism and with the advantage of the messages from the LCY conference, which were confirmed in a plebiscitary way.

The crisis, Tupurkovski stressed, does not only mean a fall in the standard of living, insufferable inflation, and the country's debt, but—and this could be even more pernicious—the crisis has broached the question of unity and disunity in our country, of democratic relations and

attacks on them, different views on the phenomena of social development and insistence on one's own approach, the lack of tolerance and respect, and a lower level of culture of political dialogue.

With Reform to a Higher Standard

These phenomena, he continued, are not just harmful in themselves. They have a direct negative influence on the ability of society to solve this very crisis. For communists and for constructive citizens, it is incomprehensible to see how far and how low the respect of some people for others has fallen, how the comprehension of the objective qualities of our differences has declined, and how the critical and self-critical analysis of what is being done, and what we do or fail to do, has been suspended to such an extent.

However, the LC would cease to be the progressive force of historical vision and its quality would immediately disappear if the LC were to surrender itself to uncontrolled forces or if its ability to influence social currents declined. Its striving for the three reforms is the mobilizing trait of this policy, which among other things is also on your conference agenda, indicating the LC ability not only to perceive the quality of the social trends, but also to decide the essence of its policy and the content of its action on this basis, Tupurkovski said and continued:

The Ideological Starting Points of All Changes Are the Democratization of Social Relations

The economic reform does not mean merely our recovery. It must also be placed in the context of destroying our autarky, of our autarkies and barriers, our links with the world, and our ability to compete in it. It must be placed in the context of our predestined bond with socialism; with socialism based on growth and general progress, based on such production relations, total production relations; socialism which does not stem from set patterns, let alone dogmas, but which builds up wealth in the practice of confirmed concepts; socialism which continually keeps a check on and tests these relations so that their ultimate verification is reflected through a higher standard of living, a more intensive satisfaction of cultural needs, or to put it simply, an enjoyment of life immanent to man.

The economic reform as an ideological concept should also be seen in the light of the new possibilities of broadening the self-managing arena and emphasizing the crucial position of the workers class in making decisions on the results of work and the surplus of new value it creates.

Changes in the political system, amendments to the SFRY Constitution, which should be adopted soon, amendments to the republican and provincial constitutions, and plans for a new constitution are dialectically linked with the overall transformations which are supported by the LC and which you justifiedly call social reform.

According to Vasil Tupurkovski, the ideological starting point of all the changes is the democratization of social relations and the full creative reaffirmation of the historically and ultimately inevitable model of the unconditional equality of our peoples and nationalities, along with the essential critical approach to solutions that have not been confirmed by the times, the epoch, and civilizational tendencies. As for its relationship with the political system and the provisions—where the results of that system are concerned—the LC should express its antidogmatism and its permanent tendencies toward evolution and progress.

There is only one criterion for the basic approach. What exists is the progress that is stimulated through the means of the system and an anachronism that is manifested in outdated ways and options and stimulated by conservatives. The possible choice of the LC is more than evident and is being made at this very moment. This choice is being materialized through the proposed changes to the SFRY Constitution and the Constitution of the SR of Serbia. The 17th and 18th sessions of the LCY Central Committee have defined in full the LCY ideopolitical platform in this respect. There is no need for me to repeat these tenets. However, it is clear that there are still some people who oppose changes in general or the nature of the constitutional changes.

The LC Has No Right to Opportunism and Compromises

In its status as the leading political subject, the LC should find the strength to widen the democratic front by making various approaches and various initiatives possible. This should more and more become its need and obligation. However, from the very aspect of the further socialist and self-managing development of society, the LC has no right to express any opportunism or make compromises when opponents of the constitutional changes proffer or create unacceptable ideological models, Tupurkovski pointed out.

Everything that our peoples and nationalities, their workers class, and the LC possess has been achieved through a merciless and lasting struggle of a class nature. It is in this fact that one should search for the full freedom and right of these basic subjects to use their political institutions to decide about the character of all that which Yugoslavia will in the future build as its own system, its policy, and its authentic contribution to civilizational achievements in general. Assaults made in the name of democracy against the class aspect of democracy, against the socialist character of interethnic relations, as well as against our tenets pertaining to values are too transparent, so that one cannot fail to understand their essence and the fact that they are historically outdated and politically unacceptable.

Differences Objectively Exist

Our differences are not a problem and they are not harmful in themselves. They objectively exist. Democratization brings novelties into our work and the publicity of work. That we have to fully decide between these

will sometimes dramatize these differences. The qualities toward which we in the LC must strive are joint work, an understanding of specificities and specific problems, a consistent and principled attitude all the time, solidarity, and internationalism, Tupurkovski pointed out and continued:

All of this is in fact in the interest of the workers class and our peoples and nationalities. All changes contained in this reform as defined by the LCY conference and in the way they are presently treated at the conference of the LC of Serbia are the only option for our society and its future. The LC must guarantee that they will be realized; it must broaden the front of forces oriented toward the reform, and must make the reform a priority; in fact, a priority preoccupation in the broadest social sphere. I am sure that the LC of Serbia will certainly make its contribution to this.

The Counterrevolution in Kosovo Has Lasted Too Long

In order for us to do something in the direction of advancing and modernizing the relevant social processes, we must resolve Kosovo. The counterrevolution has lasted too long. The moral decline of the LC is most serious as far as our obligation to overcome the counterrevolution is concerned. We must recognize that the strategic orientation of the LC to national equality has been brought into question. Albanian separatism and nationalism attack human rights and the freedom of citizens and want to threaten the integrity and international position of Yugoslavia. No one has the right to allow that. The responsibility of the LC and especially of the Provincial Committee and the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee is great in this respect, stressed Tupurkoski and continued:

It is essential to face the facts and realistically assess them in a political way, no matter how difficult they are. Therefore the implementation of the tasks established at the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee must become the primary political obligation of Communists in Kosovo, and certainly in the whole country.

We should allow no one, no one at all, to divide our young generation and to teach them the language of lack of understanding and hatred. Not one of us will positively assess their political, and I would say human, work if this process continues. In this context, the LC must be concerned about the escalation of nationalism in the whole country. It openly introduces primitivism and base passions into our relations. It pushes us toward the periphery of world-historical trends. It attacks freedom of creativity, the integrity of whole peoples and nationalities, and the humanistic character of work in science and art. As Communists, we should be ashamed of our ineffectiveness in reducing the opportunities for nationalist activities. In the LC, we cannot build our attitude to this far-reaching destabilizing evil on opportunism or flirtation with nationalism, but on a visionary view of the time which engulfs the world around us, which is based on internationalism and a cosmopolitan cultural awareness, emphasized Turpukovski.

Peoples are not nationalist or chauvinist. The LCY, republican and provincial organizations, we communists in our communities and among our peoples must defeat nationalism in Yugoslavia and our own nationalisms together with the mass progressive forces of our peoples and nationalities, stressed Turpukovski. In the best tradition of great Serbian creators, humanists, and world citizens who have become a part of the cultural inheritance of world civilization, and in the bright tradition of the worker and progressive movement of the Serbian people, you, Serbian Communists, the Serbian LC, have much of the responsibility in nipping Serbian nationalism in the bud.

The national question is a reality of this century, but we, the LC, will not allow ourselves to enter the 21st century endangered by nationalism and chauvinism. We must face the 21st century on the basis of political emancipation, a modern economy, a cultural renaissance, the unconditional equality of peoples and nationalities and their vital interdependence, and the openness of this society and its permanent orientation toward good-neighborliness and lively communication with the European and world communities. I am convinced that the Serbian LC will, as it has done until now, make its significant contribution to the strengthening of the effectiveness of the ideopolitical activity of the LCY. In this direction, your conference will produce an important stimulus to the the implementation of the delicate tasks of the three reforms, which are of existential historical importance, Vasil Tupurkovski at the end of his speech, which was received with applause.

[The following passages appear boxed within the body of the item]

Clear Answers

Should we introduce into the LC elements which would suspend its vanguardism? Do we have the right to make compromises with the moral credibility of the party? The answers are clear. Nobody has to be in the LC. Those who have opted for the LCY must carry out its democratic renewal because of its deep crisis. Today, it should, however, be clear to all that the way to abandon the historically out-dated model of the one-party system is not through disunity, through absolutizing the truth, and subtle party diplomacy. If there is an attempt to establish some kind of balance of power during the mutual confrontations between leaderships, and if there are outstanding questions that are not being resolved, this only blocks the effectiveness of the political action, democratic centralism, and interparty democracy, Tupurkovski said.

The Latest Events in Kosovo Have Made the Question of the Numerically Superior Nation's Responsibility Topical

The latest events in Kosovo have dramatically raised the question of accepting and implementing the standpoints of the 9th, 16th, 17th, and 18th LCY Central Committee sessions. These events have made topical the question of the responsibility of the numerically superior nation in curbing nationalism and hostilities, in guaranteeing all rights to Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo.

We must respect Albanians, we must scrupulously respect and protect the national rights of the Albanian nationality, because this is the condition for the survival of all of us in this country and of our politics. However, we must be categorical and uncompromising in defeating Albanian nationalists and separatists who have carried out a deep and wide indoctrination and who have started to bite into the political identity of the LC. Does anybody believe that the LC will survive on the political scene at all if we continue to divide ourselves according to our nationality, if the young people isolate themselves, and if the peoples and nationalities do not communicate and interact, Vasil Tupurkovski pointed out.

Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Meets 17 Nov
LD1811232988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1201 GMT 17 Nov 88

[All quotation marks as received]

[Summary] Sarajevo, 17 Nov (TANJUG)—A session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee was held today called for the ideopolitical responsibility of all those who obtained nonspecific purpose credits for building villas in Neum. The session heard a working group report on talks with members of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee and members of the LCY Central Committee from this republic who had built villas and holiday homes in Neum and other places. The report was submitted by Dragutin Kosovac, who stressed that the degree of responsibility must be established for each case separately. Kosovac also spoke about the phenomenon of villas in Yugoslavia, pointing out that Yugoslavia is a country with proportionally the highest number of villas in the world. He mentioned that some credits were obtained unlawfully and this was a widespread practice, not only in Bosnia-Hercegovina, but also in other republics. Abdulah Mutapcic, president of the Bosnia- Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium was the first speaker. He refuted "tendentious and false facts and assessments on the construction of my villa in Neum, a family residential house in Zenica and the use of credits," and explained how he had obtained the building credit in keeping with the law. Other speakers in the discussion also called for ideopolitical measures and the resignaton of the most prominent officials in the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee.

"Taking part in the discussion, Branko Mikulic said that he was under the impression that in public life a practice of presenting unverified claims, half-truths, slanders, and even lies on some historic events, especially those which refer to our revolution, individual environments, and personalities, is becoming familiar. I consider that this undemocratic and even illegitimate pressure does not contribute to the stabilization of the political and economic situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Yugoslavia.

Branko Mikulic said that should the methods for the disqualification of people and even leaderships continue, a way to the truth would be increasingly difficult, and our society would be more and more subject to laws of anarchy and not democracy. The LCY, the flag bearer of the struggle against Stalinism, will be exposed to dangers of introducing Stalinist methods in its ranks and in Yugoslav society, Mikulic said. Of course, this has no connection, and no one should think that it is any form of running away from responsibility or of concealing mistakes which did and do exist. Mikulic called for the minimum political culture and democracy for everyone, even for the leaderships.

My name was also proposed in the list, Mikulic said. I see that some comrades said that on the basis of their labor, payment of extra work, or for other reasons they completed their villas. True, I made gifts of all my payments for extra work, and if I did not do so I could have got away without credit worth 150,000 [currency not specified]. However, I consent to revaluation and to paying for a so-called inflationary profit. I have also proposed it to my commission. I am also in favor of a proposal to confiscate the unlawfully acquired property. Authorized organs should establish this procedure and confiscate the property if it is found that it has been unlawfully acquired. The Central Committee cannot do it. Then we must say that we are giving the entire list to the tax commission—Mikulic said among other things."

The discussion continued in a similar tone, with participants condemning unlawful methods of obtaining credits for building private villas, and calling for the establishing of responsibility of those who are guilty of such practice.

"Having heard the views of 29 speakers, the session continued by adopting a report on the construction of houses in Neum. The task of the working group for the next session will be to adopt criteria for establishing responsibility. The chairman of this group, Dragutin Kosovac, asked to be relieved of this duty because of duties connnected to his own job, and Emina Zaimovic was elected the new chairman." The session continued with a discussion on the realization of the conclusions of the 9th and 10th sessions of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee related to the Agrokomerc affair.

"Branko Mikulic then took part in the discussion; among other things he gave several explanations in connection with the discussion of Munir Mesihovic and Mladen Oljaca at the last session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC CC. He said that he had submitted to the Central Committee the shorthand notes from the SFRY Presidency session which discussed the incursion into the payment system of the agrokomerc composite organization of associated labor.

Mikulic also said that he had insisted on the settling of the Agrokomerc affair, and that everything he had said about this collective was recorded on tape or in shorthand notes. They singled me out for criticism on all sides, seeking some kind of connection with Agrokomerc. However, as you see, no one has any sound arguments, and I call on anyone from this place to make them explicit if they have any. Nevertheless, Mikulic says, they are claiming that "our days" it is not nice that I am washing my hands of Agrokomerc, and that I will not succeed in this. We will see, he said, and expressed his conviction that the truth would win.

Mikulic then reported to Mladen Oljaca over what relates to the 1972 autumn session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee. He stressed "that we should not have acted, and that we made a mistake." However, he says, we removed it by the adoption of subsequent decisions, but of course (?traces) of it remain. Mikulic believes that the opening of such questions after 16 years, and the making of assessments without full investigation could lead everyone into the danger of drawing erroneous conclusions.

Prior to the adoption of the analysis about the implementation of the ninth and 10th sessions of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee, a polemic developed following statements by Dusko Zgonjanin, who criticised OSLOBODJENJE for its reporting on the trial in Bihac, which, in his words, was selective in its singling out for criticism officials in which he, Gojko Ubiparip, Nikola Stojanovic, and later, Branko Mikulic, were often in a group.

Although I warned the chief editor of this paper, Zgonjanin said, the same thing continued to be repeated, and from this the conclusion could be drawn that we were some kind of conspiratorial group which placed people of other nationalities on trial."

It was concluded that an analysis of the reporting on the trial in Bihac would be presented to the Central Committee. Speaking about cadre policy, the secretary of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium said that 30 members of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Central Committee would be replaced, and that a fresh list of candidates would be drawn up at its next session at the beginning of December.

Vojvodina Presidency Endorses Draft Amendments

LD1811231588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1154 GMT 18 Nov 88

[Text] Novi Sad, 18 Nov (TANJUG)—As has been reported, the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Vojvodina endorsed at today's session and draft amendments to the the SFRY Constitution, urging their adoption by the anticipated deadline. It has sent its considered views on this matter to the Assembly of the Vojvodina [SAP].

Serbian SAWP Official on Constitution

LD2111173388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1330 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Nov (TANJUG)—About 400,000 working people and citizens of all nations and nationalities have taken part in the meetings held in Kosovo within a public debate about the draft amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia. Support to the constitutional amendments was not given at only 42 out of a total of 3,195 meetings. Individuals, particularly among these milieus, using Tito's name, proposed that no changes should be made to the 1974 Constitution. Bajram Selimi said this at today's session of the coordinating Council of the Republican Conference of the SAWP of Serbia held to monitor activities in the public debate on the draft amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia.

Bajram Selimi also stressed that the public debate in Kosovo proceeded in a difficult political, security, and economic situation, marked by heavily disrupted intranational relations. Despite this, a great majority of people demonstrated their support for the constitutional amendments, and pronounced that differences are of such a nature that they could be overcome by joint work, Selimi said.

SAWPY Federal Conference Membership Cut

LD2211000688 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Text] The number of members of the SAWPY Federal Conference will be reduced by almost 50 percent: Instead of 243 it will have 125 delegates. In order to rationalize and make work more efficient, the number of Federal Conference Presidium members will also be reduced. Under a proposal adopted at today's session of the section for development of the Federal Conference, the executive and political organ of the conference will have 30 members instead of 34; 10 will be ex-officio members and 20 will be elected.

The SAWPY republican conferences will have 10 representatives in the Federal Conference instead of 20, while SAWPY provincial conferences will have 7 instead of 15. Particular regard was given to the reduction of representatives of social organizations. Instead of 50, there will be 26. According to the recent additions to the SAWP Statute, neither the LCY Central Committee Presidium

president nor presidents of other sociopolitical and state organs at the federal level will be allowed to be ex-officio members of the SAWY Federal Conference Presidium.

People's Defense Exercises Conclude 20 Nov

LD2011181388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1543 GMT 20 Nov 88

[Text] Skopje, 20 Nov (TANJUG)—Two-day exercises of the All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection, organized under the name: "All in Defense and Protection 88", in the municipalities of Skopje, Kumanovo, Kriva Palanka, Kratovo, and Titov Veles ended today. The motto of this year's mass action, organized by the Socialist Alliance organizations of the working people of Macedonia, was: "Our strength is within us."

High-level organization and full preparedness of the units of the territorial defense and civil protection in wartime conditions were demonstrated.

Today the exercises were carried out in local communities and yesterday in work organizations.